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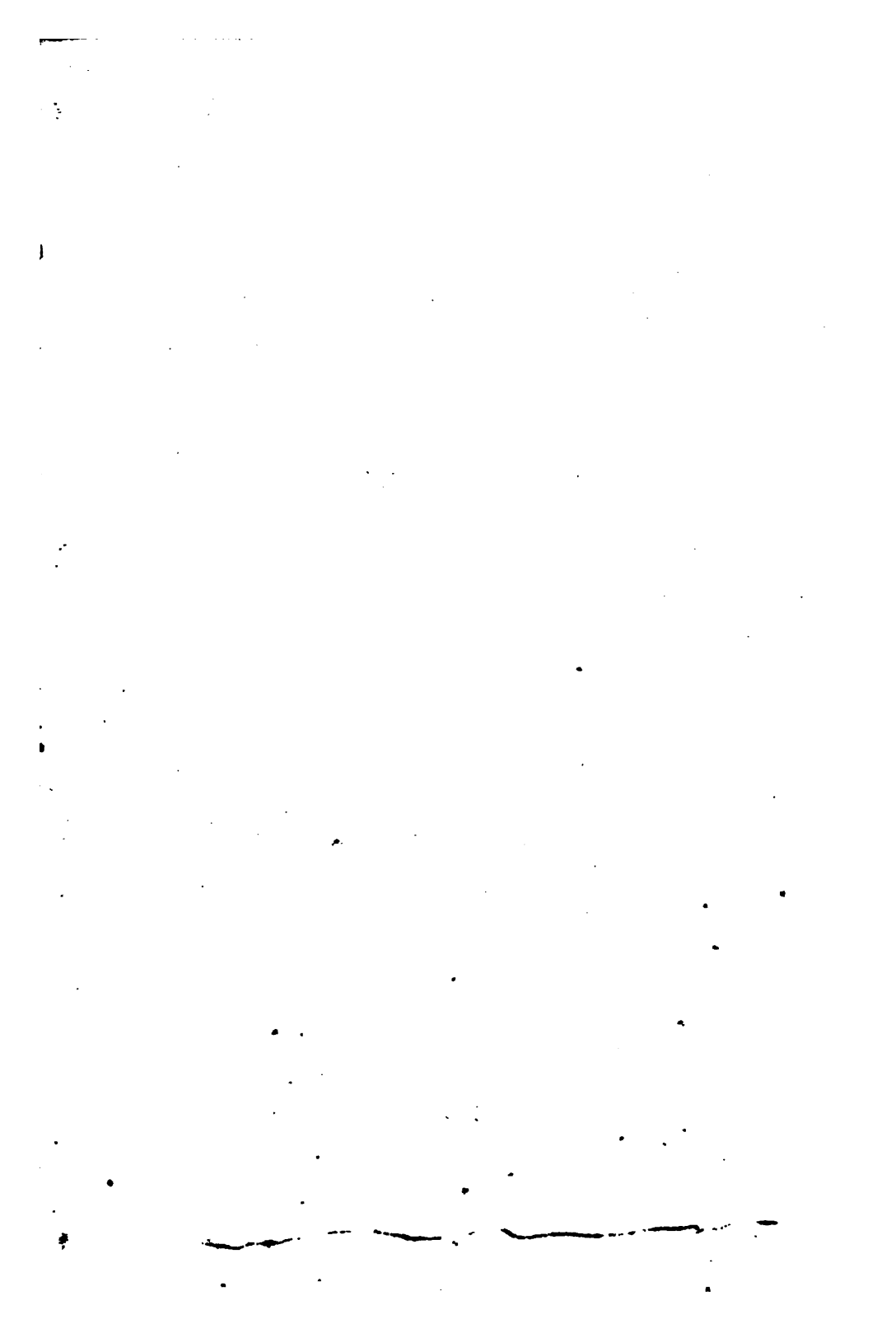
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THE UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE AT THE PERIOD  
OF THE REFORMATION.

THE  
STANHOPE PRIZE ESSAY  
FOR 1876.

BY  
V. W. C. HAMLYN,  
*Scholar of Balliol College.*

"Rem ipsam adsequare, non umbram rerum."

—*Melancthon. "De Corrigendis Adolescentium Studiis."*

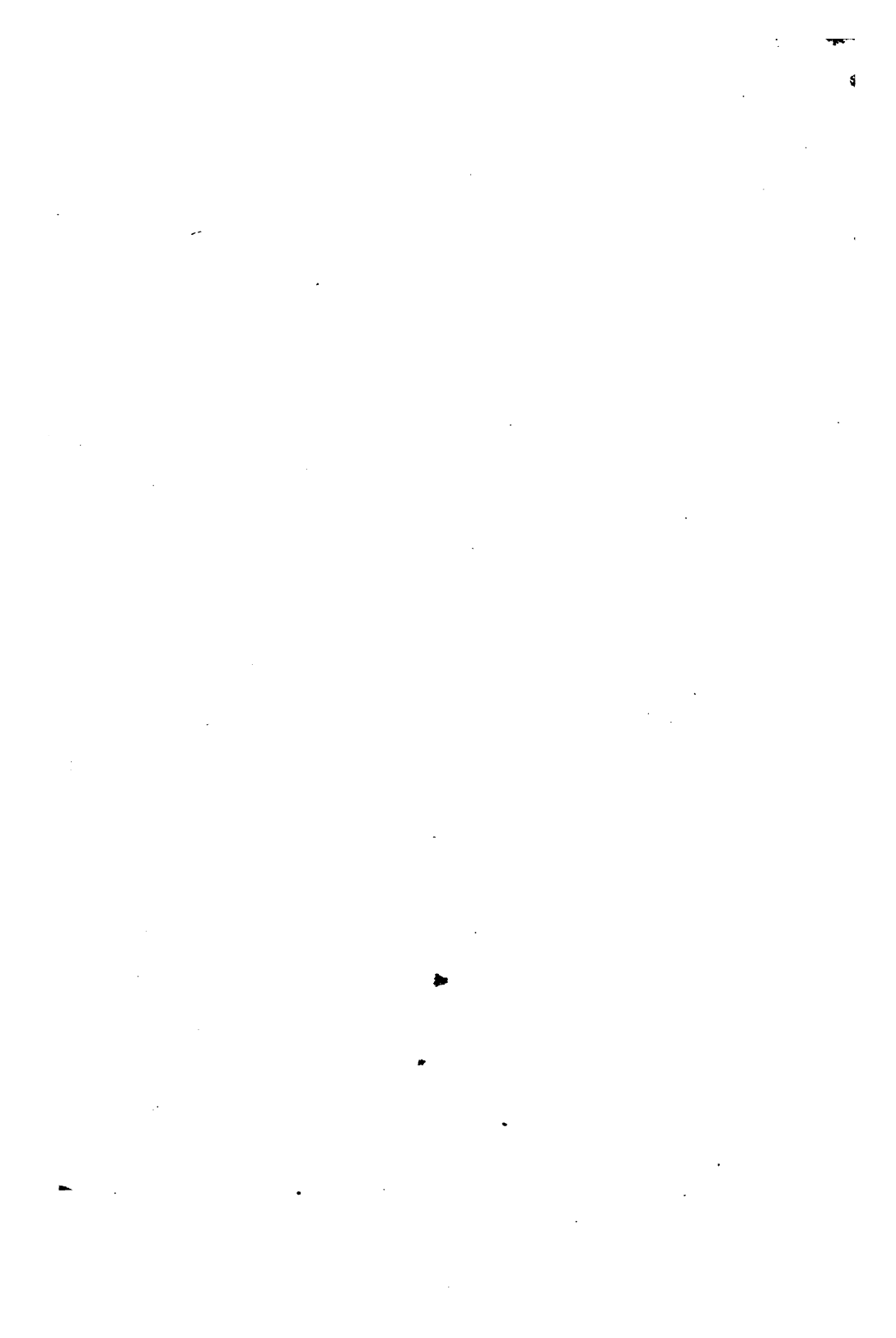
"Ad majorem Dei gloriam."

—*Motto of the Order of Jesus.*



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1876.

*George Adol. Osborn 8.130.4.*  
*e. d.*



## THE UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE AT THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

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THAT crisis in a man's career whose influence seems most actively to control his later fortunes is the natural and frequent object of his thoughts ; nor is the experience of society different from that of the individual, since the periods of the world's history most fraught with evident import to its present welfare arouses in it the most lively interest.

In such a connexion with our immediate age stand the events of the Reformation years, years from their proximity and the absence in later centuries of events of equal extent or importance, the traditionary source of all the vexed questions of to-day, and in an especial manner of those concerned with religion and education.

The Reformation broke the bond of the ecclesiastical system that for centuries had held together the nations of the West ; it produced social and political results of the gravest character, it overthrew the method and studies to which since the 13th century the Universities of Europe had given unquestioning allegiance, and by changes of a radical nature modified the structure of those bodies to suit the requirements of the age.

There have, indeed, been few years of previous or later University history wherein the influence of learned bodies has exercised a more lively effect on the outer world, or when they have in turn been so susceptible of external opinion.

It was from the ranks of the students of the Universities that the champions of the classics stepped forth to do battle with the advocates of scholasticism, themselves members of the academic bodies ; it was from the heart of the Universities that the attacks of Erasmus on Mediæval Theology came ; a Theological teacher of Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon, compiled the confession of Augsburg, and the best efforts and talent of the Order of Jesus were lavished to

secure the restoration of Catholic supremacy in these, the most formidable homes of religious dissent.

With the downfall in the 16th century of the Universal Church and the European authority of the Pope, the tie that had formerly bound the Universities to the Church perished, and the growth of secular influences substituted in its place a nearer relation to the State. Apart from other circumstances, the change was in a measure due to the attitude of hostility assumed by the rank and file of the Church towards the pursuit in the Universities of those studies which the Italian Renaissance had brought into prominence.

So long as culture and education depended amidst the storms of the Middle Ages on the shelter of the Church for its protection, so long as the memory of past services and the consciousness of common interests survived, the Church exercised an undisputed empire over University life and thought. But when amidst the progress of learning and discovery, the increase in knowledge of the past and the growth of juster conceptions concerning the present, the advocates of Latin Christianity clung yet closer to the Doctors of the 13th century, when the choice lay between the study of the Bible in its native tongues or the Latin version of the Vulgate ; between the Aristotle of antiquity or the Latin translation with its scholastic commentators ; Homer and Virgil or the trite text books of the mediæval writers, the rebellion was almost universal, and the foremost thinkers of the age unable to longer hope for assistance at the hands of the Church turned for help and assistance to the secular powers.

The cause of education before directed by ecclesiastics was transferred to laymen, the power of the spiritual authority gave place in the Universities to that of the temporal, and the duty of endowing education, a task before accomplished by the revenues of the Church, devolved on the Exchequer of the State. The events of the 16th century overthrew the predominance of ecclesiastical influence in the Universities, and though the circumstances of succeeding years has rendered that influence tenacious of its hold on education, the tendency has always been towards the development of a more secular character.



The intense theological interests of the 16th century have been succeeded by more general studies, and at the present day the retention of any of the original ecclesiastical features seems seriously menaced. In the years of the Reformation, however, we have only to notice the vast importance of the Universities in that great religious struggle, to trace the connexion of their changes in study and the development of novel religious conceptions, and to observe that their studies were either theological or literary, and little concerned with scientific or legal acquirements. The period of years, with which this Essay is concerned, extends from the commencement of the century until the close of the Council of Trent, a date of considerable importance alike in the annals of the Universities and of the church, as marking the commencement of a new era.

The Incorporation of Oxford and Cambridge (1562) points to the final establishment in England of Protestantism; the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the death of Melancthon are of equal prominence respectively in France and Germany, while the final publication of Rome's future policy, in the decrees of Trent are the last acknowledgments of the irremediable differences which for the future were to separate Europe into clearly defined religious parties.

The succeeding years of the century are those which should be treated of in an essay on the Jesuits or the Catholic Reaction. The work of the Reformation and the importance in that movement of the Universities ceased much earlier. Nor is it possible to include within our subject the growth of such Academies as Leiden, which rising in quieter years and profiting by the turmoils of the past were able to devote themselves to wider studies, and to cultivate in their midst that scientific spirit whose first development belongs to a later century.

In the subsequent pages little or no reference has been made to the Universities of Spain. In that country the last Saracenic Academies had perished in the final overthrow of the Moorish kingdom, while the Catholic Universities

adhered strictly to the course of studies prescribed by the thirteenth century.

In a country so little open to external influence as Spain, the influence of the Reformation years was inappreciable, while of the counter-influence which that revolution evoked it was the earliest victim.

Yet it would be unjust to leave unmentioned the foundation of Alcala by the Cardinal Ximenes, an University whose Polyglot bible gave promise of a future linguistic excellence which was not unfortunately fulfilled.

The early triumph of the Jesuits, and the absence of any literary communication with the rest of Europe, secured for Spain a lasting adhesion to the studies and method of the Middle Ages.

If we are truly to realise the position of the more ancient Universities in the period under our notice, and if we desire to understand the motives of their conduct towards the Reformation as well as the changes which were effected in them by that movement, it will be needful for us to examine somewhat carefully the circumstances of their origin and growth.

Otherwise, looking on the organisation of Paris, of Oxford, or Bologna, we should be apt to think falsely that they had always presented the same imposing appearance, and remain in ignorance of their real history and antecedents.

The Church  
and the Uni-  
versities in the  
Middle Ages.

One of the chief points in connexion with the earliest Universities, and one which we who live in later days are apt to overlook, is the importance of the influence of the Mediæval Church on education. From the fall of the Western Empire until the great intellectual revival of the 13th century, the Church was the ark in which all human knowledge was preserved in the countries of Western Europe. The ravages of invaders, the devastations of war and pestilence, drove the majority of men from all thought of learning ; and the conquerors of Gaul, of Spain, or Britain, were long strangers to the most elementary forms of education.

Yet the Latin Church preserved for the use of its ministers and as the language of its services the speech of imperial Rome ; and amongst her scattered monasteries,

secure from the attack of barbarian marauders, might be found schools of youth instructed in Latin and even Greek; as well as Libraries wherein were contained the writings of authors such as Boethius, and even perhaps some manuscripts covered with copies of the works of Virgil and Livy.

Amidst an almost universal ignorance it was only amongst churchmen that any approach to culture could be found; as a consequence they were promoted to posts of the highest importance, and the language of ecclesiastics, Latin, became that of the court. All education was naturally allotted to the care of the clergy, and with the exception of such institutions as the Palace school of Charles the Great, the only provision for instruction was to be met with in the schools of the Cathedrals or Abbeys. By the eleventh century when the trans-Alpine countries were better ordered through the development of the royal government, as was to be expected, population became far more dense and the general prosperity increased. The contact in the following and subsequent century with the culture and thought of the Arabs gave a great impetus to Europe, while the Universities which that people possessed may have given an idea for future imitation.

However that may be, it is certain that in the 12th and 13th centuries there was a desire for knowledge and learning quite unprecedented. In the 11th century many had gathered round teachers such as Lanfranc and Anselm, in the Abbey school of Bec; but now the face of France, of England, and Italy, was constantly traversed by pilgrims swarming to and fro from one celebrated teacher to another. These teachers, it is important to observe, were almost invariably in orders; for although amidst so great a band of learners it would have been possible now to have selected teachers, whose lives had not been spent in seclusion, still the Church afforded the safest asylum and the easiest livelihood for those who desired to spend their days in study and teaching; and so the men who were the instructors of the age were always to be found amongst her servants. Indeed, too, the custom of mediæval times was to regard all students as in a manner Churchmen; and often, to secure themselves

from perils on their travels in quest of knowledge, men were content to assume the lower orders and so place themselves under ecclesiastical protection. The lectures of these monastic teachers were in all probability delivered to their hearers in the schools of the Abbey or Cathedral, and their subjects usually much the same as those which the monks of Croyland lectured on in their barn at Cottenham;\* namely, the grammar of Priscian, the rhetoric of Tully, or the flowers of Quintilian. Nor was a speculative element absent, for we are aware how the teachings of Abelard drew down on him the wrath of St. Bernard.

It is to these lectures, and to these conventual schools, we trace the origin of our University system. To the schools of St. Geneviève, rather than to the Palace school of Charles; to those of St. Frideswide's and Cottenham, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge owe their existence.

Some chain of happy circumstance, a continued succession of able teachers, a fortunate position for the approach and maintenance of scholars, these and other reasons determined the fate of the more fortunate schools, and on their fulfilment hung the future of the embryo University.

At first the University was nothing more than a heterogeneous body of men and boys gathered together from all the neighbouring countries, devoid of organization; auditors by day of the lectures of the famous master they had flocked to hear, and tenants by night of any hovel they could obtain shelter in

Poor, ill fed, and unable to acquire knowledge except orally, the first students of the time we are speaking of illustrated by their hardships the reality of their zeal.

It is needful at this point to state that the explanation we have given above of the development of the monastic schools into Universities, in no way applies to the Academies of Italy and Spain.

The former country owed her schools to the revival of the study of Jurisprudence in the 11th century, while the latter received, through the occupation of the Saracens, great educational advantages. For the Saracens were centuries

\* Cf. Fuller, *History of Cambridge*.

ahead of European knowledge as well in practical studies as in speculation. Their schools were the homes of the study of Science, Astronomy, or Medicine, and like their brethren in Asia the Saracens were deeply imbued with a pseudo Aristotelian philosophy. These schools or Universities can, however, scarcely demand our notice<sup>b</sup> since by the time of the Reformation they had been overthrown by the fall of the Saracenic power, and were supplanted by a number of foundations designed after the common example of the mediæval foundations, and devoted to the supervision of the Jesuits.

In the countries North of the Alps and the Pyrenees the influence of the Church was paramount in the Universities.

It was not until the 13th century that in these trans-Alpine regions the development of the school of the monastic teachers into our University, or acknowledged resort for learning, took place. The importance of the change at such an era is too great to be lightly passed over. The 13th century is one of the most striking periods in the history of modern times. After long years of torpor and inactivity, of ignorance and barbarism, the mind of Europe sprang suddenly into life ; we are as dazzled by the contrast of its brilliancy and restless toil as we are wearied by the sloth and rudeness of the previous centuries.

Political, religious, social advance, are all clearly perceptible in that wonderful age, and such was its intellectual vigour that it constructed a theoretic system of knowledge whose accuracy and sufficiency none dared question, until the Renaissance turned men's minds into other grooves.

At a time when mental activity was so rife, the question how to organise education received, we cannot doubt, the greatest attention. All care for teaching had hitherto centred round the church, and the church, which between the years of the death of Innocent III. and the accession of Boniface VIII. was at the zenith of its power, was unwilling to lose its hold on so important an advantage. Nor were its motives so purely ambitious as not to be mingled with a desire for self defence.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. on the Arabian Schools in Spain—M. Viardôt, "*L'Histoire des Arabes de Spain.*"

The increase of commercial intercourse with the East, the more frequent contact with the Arabs of Spain, or Asia, had resulted in the introduction, amongst many other things, of the Arabian Version of Aristotle into Western Europe, together with the commentaries thereon of Averroes and Avicenna. The text was not the original but a maimed translation, and the commentators were penetrated with a spirit of mysticism; yet the perusal of the writings of the Greek philosopher produced an immense revulsion of feeling, and the doctrines of the Mediæval Church, submitted to the logic of Aristotle, threatened to lose their former esteem.

It was, therefore, the natural if half involuntary action of the rulers of the church to encourage an arrangement by which the pursuit of knowledge might be confined within fixed bounds; nor were they blind to the advantages which the old relations of the clergy towards education afforded them for the fulfilment of their scheme.

The scheme was crowned with success, and the young Universities of Paris and Oxford, as well as all which were later founded in their imitation, were made a subordinate part of that great ecclesiastical system which culminated in the person of the Pope, and sought to bring every individual and every institution beneath its subjection.

• It is thus we have to account for the importance of the Papal see in the creation of Universities, in the grant of their privileges, and the bestowal of degrees; matters which must later come under our notice.

It is to this action of the Church we should attribute that connexion of religion with the furtherance of education which makes the erection of a fresh University to be considered as an act of piety. The aim of the University of Vienna, said its founder, was to "disperse gloom and error, to further the faith, to promote the public good, and the illumination of men's hearts by the Holy Spirit."<sup>4</sup>

• The clause of a bull of erection generally runs in this way:—"Ad laudem divini nominis et fidei propagationem orthodoxæ auctoritatis apostolicæ statuimus et ordinanices," &c., &c., cf. Bull of Hadrian VI., 1385, to Heidelbergh, quoted p. 314, Vol. II. Hantz. Geschichte von Universität Heidelbergh.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Von Raumer, Geschichte der Pädagogik, Vol. IV.

At this point it will be right to notice how great, in respect of the state of things we have just been alluding to was the change effected by the Reformation.

In the 13th century, as we have seen, the stamp of the Church's power was deeply impressed on the recent University bodies; yet it had not contented itself with control over the organization alone, it succeeded in leading captive the intellects of their members as well. We have mentioned the fear inspired by the new study of Aristotle. The danger was, however, almost at once met by the assistance of the great scholars of Paris, Scotus, Aquinas, Albert, and Ockham, who rescued the cause of the Church from disaster.

Their unwearying toils sought to reduce all knowledge, and even the writings of Aristotle, to subservience to the cause of the science of sciences—theology, as well as through the aid of the Greek, to construct a system which should reconcile all the phenomena of our world with the mediæval theology, and offer sufficient satisfaction on all points to the sceptics of the age. They invented a phraseology which they supposed unlocked the meaning of what had hitherto lacked a key, and doubtless congratulated themselves on the solution they had afforded to others.

Yet when they were gone, and their place filled by men of far less intellect, their system (which lost its meaning with the decline of the danger which had provoked it, and the death of the men alone skilled in its technicalities,) retained indeed its authority over the Universities, but declined into a senseless jargon of terms.

For centuries it was the predominant study and pursuit of the students, whose years were spent in useless toils and interminable disputations.

The Reformation both secularised the Universities and swept away the Scholastic system; in so doing it drew deep the line of difference between the mediæval and the modern body.

To say, however, that the Reformers secularised the Universities is in one sense incorrect; for their connection with, and subordination to, theological interests was rather increased by the rivalry of the contending creeds than

lessened; but in the wider sense the phrase is permissible, for from the time of the Reformation the dependence of the Universities on the Church was exchanged for dependence on the State, their control was transferred from the clergy to laymen, their supreme head was no longer the Pope but their sovereign, and their universal Catholic character became merged in that of a national body.

Of the overthrow of the authority of the Schoolmen we shall have later again to speak.

History of the  
growth and  
nature of the  
Medieval  
Universities.

When we come to the time of the Reformation we find two types of University, those whose origin dates back into the Middle Ages, and those owing their existence to the events of those years. The first of the two and that which we are now about to examine includes the well known names of Paris, Bologna, Vienna, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca. We have already seen how great was the debt of gratitude of the majority of these bodies to the Church, as well as the nature of the studies with which they were occupied. It will be still necessary to trace their internal organization, and narrate the history of their development.

The Medieval Universities, to speak generally, followed two examples, either that of the great Law school of Bologna, or else that of the equally great Theological school of Paris. Yet though there was a great difference in the principle upon which the two classes were respectively based, there was a great similarity in their internal arrangements, so much so, that it is easier to state their common points of agreement, and incidentally point out divergencies from the common type, than treat either independently. The point from which every University dates its birth is the reception from the Pope of the Bull which constituted it a 'Studium generale,' or school for the teaching of all approved learning. When once the conventual or cathedral school had received this authorisation its fortunes began to rise rapidly, and the

\* Cf. Bull of Hadrian VI. to Heidelberg, quoted by Hantz, *Geschichte von Univ. Heidelberg*, "Ordinamus, ut in dicta villa de caetero fiat studium generale, ad instar studii Pariscensis illudque perpetuis temporibus inibi vigeat tam in theologia et juris canonici quam *alia qualibet licita Facultate*, &c.



advantages which it was able to bestow attracted to it numerous students. For, from the special authority of the Church in matters of education, the Pope was supposed to be gifted with power to licence and restrain all teaching, and the degree of a University could only be bestowed with the approbation of the Church's representative, the Chancellor. Hence the importance of the Mediæval degree, without which none might hope to teach, as well as the necessity for the nascent academy of a recognition of its right to confer degrees.<sup>f</sup>

It is somewhat difficult exactly to define the exact bearing of the word University; for while in Paris and Oxford it signified the collective body of nations and faculties, in a word the whole body of teachers and learners; in Bologna each separate branch of study<sup>g</sup> with its Professors and students constituted an University. The distinction between it and the earlier school, seems in the case of the Northern foundations, to consist in its power of pursuing and giving degrees in the highest<sup>h</sup> branches of study, for according to Bulaeus, in the lesser schools all the arts were not commonly taught, "at the most the seven liberal arts. But in the greater Academies not only the Arts afore mentioned but also the higher Disciplines, Medicine, Canon and Civil Law, are wont to be taught."

As soon as the continued existence of the University was assured and its size greatly increased, some form of organisation and self-government was attempted. Those earliest attempts were based on the most democratic principles. The whole power was placed, not as in the later Universities in the hands of the teachers and graduates, but in those of the scholars. These, gathered as they were from every quarter of Europe, were arranged in divisions called Nations, and in their power lay the election of the Rector of the University, as well as of their more immediate officers, the proctors. Paris was divided into the nations of the Gauls,

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Huber, *the English Universities*.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. Savigny, *Histoire du Droit Romain*, Vol.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Lutetiae*, Vol. I., p. 97.

Normans, Picardy,<sup>1</sup> and the English; and all the schools of Germany, England, and the Low Countries, as well as those of Italy, imitated an arrangement which took its origin in the Law University of Bologna.

The advantage in the unsettled state of Mediæval Europe of such a system was great, since it enabled students to visit the most distant Universities. The adventurous Englishman who desired to study in Paris or Bologna found himself on his arrival welcomed by the members of his own nation there gathered, supplied by their chosen officers with information as to the lectures and course of studies, and warned of the peculiar dangers to which he, as a foreigner,<sup>2</sup> might be liable.

With the passage of years, however, the internal changes were considerable, the nations declined in power, the importance of the teachers became greater, and a more rigid discipline was imposed. In the 13th century the Franciscans, the ardent champions of the Science of Theology, succeeded in winning for it a position as a definite and separate study in Paris, and formed its students and teachers into a Faculty; a body distinct from the general mass of those who were pursuing the usual course of the Trivium and Quadrivium. Soon a Faculty of Law arose as also one of Medicine, and then the nations to a great extent lost their control over the reins of government, and under the name of the Faculty of Arts, shared with the other three, their former power. The

The Facu'ties. Faculties, while they promised greater permanence for the

<sup>1</sup> In 1430, after the foundation of Rouen, this nation was called the German, cf. Bulaeus. In Oxford the nations were only two, the North and South. At Bologna there were 18 nations in the Ultra, 17 in the Cis-montane Universities of Civil Law, cf. Meiner, *Geschichte der Universitäten*; also Baumer, Vol. IV., *Gesh. der Pädagogik*, and Savigny, *Hist. du Droit Romain*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Some curious lines quoted in Ant. à Wood of arrival of a student at Bologna:—

"Pixus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem  
Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit  
Inde scholas adiungit, secum deliberat utrum  
Expediat potius illa vel ista schola.  
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos  
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit illis."—Vol. I., p. 55.

University system, marked by their commencement the first step of the process which converted at the time of the Reformation the democratic University of the Middle Ages into a narrow oligarchy. They secured the better instruction of the students as well as a stricter discipline, but they robbed them of their old rights: in some cases, one of the Faculties monopolised, as was the lot of the Theological Faculty of Paris, all the power and consideration of the whole University.

There were, however, exceptions to this almost universal encroachment of the Faculties. In Oxford these bodies never obtained any real authority, for the studies of Law and Medicine, or even Theology, were never really pursued with any vigour, for a variety of reasons. The study of the Civil Law was altogether at a discount among the English, and in the reign of Henry VIII. the study of the Papal Canon Law was forbidden, while the pursuit of the science of medicine was checked by want of interest and the greater facilities for its study to be found in London; as regards the Theological faculty, the hatred of the Academicians for the Franciscans, and the fear lest they should win in Oxford by similar tactics a position analogous to that they had secured in Paris, thwarted all efforts for its successful establishment.

With the growth of the Faculties had arisen likewise a *The Teachers.* new body of teachers. Under the earliest system, there was as little organisation of teaching as there was of discipline; the students attended the lectures alone of the masters whom they fancied, and any one who had taken his degree was permitted, and indeed was compelled, for at least two years to give lectures. Those who were thus actually engaged in tuition were called the "magistri regentes;" their remuneration depended solely on their popularity and reputation, for the first Universities possessed no endowments for the benefit and support of instruction. Although when knowledge was but small, and the actual amount to be imparted by the teacher easily to be acquired by all students, this constantly changing body of lecturers was not found unsuitable; the time soon came when the inconveniences of the system became apparent, and the task of education was gradually restricted

to a limited number of regents, the old privilege and duty of lecturing ceasing to become imperative on all. The change is perceptible in all the older Universities<sup>1</sup> throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and the memory of it is kept up in Oxford, in the two houses of Congregation and Convocation, the respective assemblies of the *magistri regentes* and the *magistri non regentes*.

This alteration is to be traced to the example of Bologna, where, until the 13th century, the usual rule had been in force. But local selfishness and fear lest the preeminence in the studies of Civil Law might be diverted to other Universities, led the Bolognese to seek to obviate such a misfortune, and the better to effect their aim, to confine the privilege of teaching to natives of the town, whom they incorporated into Colleges independent of any restraint.

Educational  
Course.

In speaking of the course of the University studies it is to be observed that in their main outlines the features of the mediæval system were maintained unchanged throughout the Reformation and subsequent times, even down to our present age. Oxford, for instance, continued its faithful adherence to Aristotle and the forms of mediæval disputation until within the memory of those still living. The Trivium and Quadrivium are still in the main the studies pursued in the Universities, and it is only in the details and carrying out of the scheme that the difference lies. The importance of the 16th century in the history of education is this, that it expelled from the Universities the Latin of the Schoolmen, which was neither the Latin of the earlier civilians or of the Church, and substituted for it classical writings; that it substituted for the philosophical works of the 13th and 14th centuries the study of literature, and for vague disputation solid scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary, the better to picture to ourselves the life of a student at the University whether we are thinking of Mediæval or Reformation times, to remember that he entered on his career at a much earlier age than is now usual. It was customary, after perhaps a little preparation in the school of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Savigny, *Histoire du Droit Romain*.

<sup>1</sup> For a lively picture of University life at Oxford in the 13th century cf. *Munimenta Acad. Oxon.* Ed. Rolls Series, in the preface.

an abbey, to enter the University between the ages of 12 and 15. As a rule, however, the student went through his preliminary training in grammar in the University itself; schools for that purpose being common enough in the academic towns. That this early entry was frequent enough in much later times, is evident from the provision of foundations such as Königsberg, in which it is ordered that tutors shall be appointed for those students whose education<sup>m</sup> was insufficient for the requirements of the Arts course.

The first examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts was indeed one in the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic; the inferior subjects of the course. That course was composed, as is well known, of the subjects comprised in the Trivium and Quadrivium,

"*Luigua, tropus, ratio, numerus, tenor, angulus, astra,*" as an old hexameter has it; that is to say, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, all of which were to be mastered by the young artist before he acquired his degree.

His time was filled up with lectures; for in an age when books were transcribed with great expense and difficulty, oral instruction was of the highest importance; and these lectures would be heard<sup>n</sup> sometimes in the porch of a church, or in a public lecture-room, but most generally in the hired school of the master.

At the end of his fourth year, he was expected to publicly maintain disputations with the Masters of the Schools before the University officials, at the successful conclusion of which ordeal the candidate was allowed the grade of a Bachelor. For three more years he was compelled by diligent attention at disputations and by reading allotted lectures, as well as by study, to qualify himself for the dignity of Master of Arts. In the inception for that degree he was to show himself versed in geometry, astronomy, and philosophy—natural, moral, and metaphysical.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Cf. Koch, *Die Preussischen Universitäten*, Vol. I.; Statutes of Königsberg of 1546.

<sup>n</sup> Cf. *Munim. Acad. Oxon*, preface.

<sup>o</sup> It is not uninteresting to note the received books for the Arts course—

The tendency as years went on was considerably to shorten the time of the Arts course, and we find reductions of the years, preliminary to the determination, constantly introduced into later statutes.<sup>2</sup>

The Master of Arts, possessed after so many weary years of the coveted degree, was thenceforth endowed with the right of teaching in all places, and selecting any of the subjects he had mastered for his lectures, although as we have already shown that power soon fell into disuse.

With regard, however, to the higher branches of learning, the master who had just completed the long course of the Arts, stood only on their threshold, and if he aspired to a degree in Law, or Medicine, or Theology, he was forced to begin afresh to study and pursue courses of lectures and disputations before he could be admitted to the office of a Bachelor, Master, or Doctor. That custom it is to be observed was maintained in all the older Universities amidst the alterations of the 16th century; while it was got rid of in the new Protestant foundations. In speaking presently of Bologna and the class of University it represents, we shall have likewise to notice the absence of this rule.

Since the real importance of the literary revival of the 15th-16th century, so far as the Universities are concerned, is connected with the Arts course, and the changes it there effected, we can scarcely do wrong if we linger yet somewhat longer over its consideration.

The idea at the bottom of the Trivium and Quadrivium was excellent: before advance to the higher studies the young student was thoroughly to be trained in grammar and rhetoric, and from them learn nicety of expression; then

- (i.) *Grammar*—Works of Villa Dei; Graecismus of Bethune, and his Labyrinth.
- (ii.) *Dialectics*—Boethius; Hispanus; Aristotle.
- (iii.) *Music*—Works of John de Muris.
- (iv.) *Geometry*—Six books of Euclid; John of Pisa on Perspective.
- (v.) *Astronomy*—The *Sphaera Materialis*; John de Sacro Busto; the *Computus Cyrometricalis*, &c., &c., of Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Statutes of Ingoldstadt (Prantl.) In Statutes of Heidelberg (Hautz) the B. A. course is reduced to two years. Cf. also, Attempted Reforms of Ramus in Paris, Crevier, V, pp. 370-6. &c.

advancing to arithmetic, geometry, music, he was thence to acquire a sense of order, harmony, and self-restraint; while finally dialectic was to teach him accuracy of thought and speech, and astronomy a just appreciation of relative importance.

Unfortunately the result was unequal to the promise; for the influence of the Schoolmen told fatally against the chance of success. The brilliancy of their genius gave an undue prominence to so called philosophical studies and dialectic; the rest of the Trivium Quadrivium faded into obscurity; the Arts Faculty at Paris is indifferently called "the course of Philosophy." The complaints of Erasmus show clearly the hopeless state into which education had fallen in his time; the desire for mere intellectual subtlety without attempt to provide food for thought, or secure mental culture, had produced disastrous results. "Believe me," writes Erasmus to a friend at the University of Paris, "that nothing else so much dims the glory of that Academy as that her youth, with scarce a taste of grammar, are hurried off to sophistry and those pursuits by which they are equipped for scholastic strife."<sup>1</sup>

Although the Literary Renaissance overthrew the theories of the Schoolmen, yet it did not really damage the position of the Faculty of Arts, but replaced it on its proper footing, and in England at least gave it an almost practical monopoly, while the general effect of the change was everywhere to augment its importance. The change lay in the prominence now given to literary and scholarly pursuits, to the acquaintance with Greek and Latin authors instead of the barbarous Latin of the 13th-14th centuries.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Erasmi*, Lib. g, Ep. 1120, ed. Basel.

<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Statutes of Edward VI. show the persistence of the Trivium and Quadrivium, and the Conservative nature of the English Universities, while they manifest traces of Renaissance influence. They provide that in the first year of residence the scholar study Geometry, Astronomy, Cosmography (in Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy); in the second, Dialectics; and in the third and fourth, Philosophy (e.g. in Aristotle). The Greek Professor, however, should read Homer, Demosthenes, Euripides, Isocrates. Cf. Lamb, *Letters and Documents of C.C.C., Cambridge*, p. 124.

Philosophy as a general study in the Universities sank into obscurity from the time of the Reformation, discouraged alike by the memory of early failure and eclipsed by the brilliancy of the scholars and philologists of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The effect of the Renaissance of Classics was, it must be born in mind, to stimulate the literary spirit of Catholic and Protestant Academies; (the former being often forced to progress from mere stress and competition,) but the latter bodies were naturally more open to enthusiasm for studies which they believed to go hand in hand with their religious views, while the former adhered, so much as circumstances would permit, to the Schoolmen and the Vulgate.

The Chan-  
cellor.

We have now to speak of the officials of the Mediæval type of University as well as of its assemblies for the discussion of common affairs of business, and the most characteristic officer, the Chancellor, will first demand our attention. Notice has been already given to the tie between the Church and Education, and of this tie the Chancellor was the visible expression. As knowledge was a thing sacred in itself, and as the importance of its proper transmission was grave, the Mediæval Church, sanctioned by the presence and enquiry of its representative, the fitness of the applicants for the dignity of the degrees which entitled their recipients to teach throughout the length and breadth of Christendom.\* At every examination for degrees in European Universities, the candidates were to be presented to the Chancellor, who before he received them as members of the faculty to which they aspired, was bound by the statutes to make enquiry as to their moral characters and the diligence of their studies.

Then, according to the standing in the University of the candidate, the Chancellor received him into the Faculty he

\* The following formula was used by the Chancellor on conferring a degree in Theology, or with a slight verbal alteration in bestowing other degrees:—"By authority of the Omnipotent God, and of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and of the Apostolic See, which I here represent, I give you license to read, dispute, and teach in the Theological Faculty, and to exercise all other acts of a master in the same Faculty, here and throughout the world, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen." Quoted by Von Raumer, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, Vol IV.



sought to enter, and invested him with the birrettum and ring which marked the office of magister or licensed teacher, saluted him with the solemn title of Dominus, and if he had attained to the summit of Academic glory, invested him with the brilliant robe of a Doctor of one of the superior Faculties.<sup>†</sup>

The Chancellor was usually on the continent a member of the capitular body of the diocese in which the University lay, although in some cases he was the bishop of that diocese. Thus in Oxford the Bishop of Lincoln, in Cambridge the Bishop of Ely, were Chancellors; while in Paris the Chancellor of the church of St. Genéviève, in Heidelbergh the Provost of the Cathedral of Worms held the office. It was not until after the 16th century that the Chancellor ceased to be an ecclesiastical officer; but with the rise of the new order of ideas and the connexion of the state with education in the former place of the Church, the Chancellor (where he survived) became a secular officer, except in those very conservative bodies in which the universal spirit of change created only a stronger attachment to former institutions.

In Oxford or in Cambridge, with the firm establishment of the reformed faith, the Chancellor became the nominee of the new supreme head of the Church,<sup>‡</sup> and was selected from the leaders of the court.

The importance of the Chancellor in respect of the <sup>The Rector.</sup> University is clearly discernible, when we come to consider the jurisdiction and power of the actual governor of the Universities, the Rector as he was called abroad, the Vice-Chancellor, as his name was in England. We have spoken of the democratic nature of the oldest foundations, as well as of the primitive importance of the nations. In Paris and its imitators the Rector was the choice of the nations,<sup>§</sup> and in

<sup>†</sup> Ingoldstadt had the extraordinary liberty of conferring its own degrees, independently of the Chancellor.

<sup>‡</sup> The Legatine powers of Wolsey broke down the wall, and the position of the layman Cromwell, his successor, gave a precedent for secular Chancellors; but it is under Elizabeth we begin to have Leicesters and Cecils as Chancellors.

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Crevier, Vol. IV., p. 174 et seq. Stat. de Cardinal d'Estouteville, 1444. Custom followed at Vienna.

later days when the Faculties had arisen, he was still to be selected from the Faculty of Arts, or original body of the nations. The bestowal of the grant of a 'Studium Generale' freed the Rector or Vice-Chancellor from episcopal jurisdiction;<sup>7</sup> but curiously enough he none the less retained the ecclesiastical rights of jurisdiction which he had first acquired as deputy of the Chancellor. The members of the University as clerics possessed an immunity from ordinary jurisdiction, and save in extraordinary offences were tried in the court of the Rector, who was able to punish them by imprisonment, by fines, by personal chastisement,<sup>8</sup> and in extreme cases by expulsion. In addition, the Rector, as head of the University, took the leading place in Council and the conduct of important affairs; it was his place to preserve the rights and immunities of the University (such as its freedom from taxation, its rights to benefices, and its command over the makers of parchment, and later of paper),<sup>9</sup> to be present at all solemn processions and ceremonies, and fulfil all the duties whose performance the dignity of the University required. His apparently despotic power was limited by the necessity of strict obedience to the Statutes, and in process of time by the increase of the power of the Faculties the Rector was deprived of much of his former importance.

For the gradual tendency was from the old system of an University<sup>2</sup> of scholars to advance towards an University of teachers, and the officer of the nations in the 14th and 15th century found himself limited by the assembly of the regent doctors and masters, which eventually seized to itself in many of the modern foundations the right of electing the Rector.<sup>4</sup>

The office in the earlier Universities was held but for a short term, varying from three to six or 12 months, and this rule was observed by later founders, but longer tenures of

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Original Documents of C.C.C., Cambridge, Lamb. Boniface II.'s Bull freed Vice Chancellor "a jurisdictione episcopali."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Von Mohl's Extracts from the "Constitutio et Ordinatio Scholasticæ Universitatis Tubingæ."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. The right of the Rector of Paris to exact dues from the sellers of paper at the fair of St. Denis.—Crevier.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prantl. Vol. I., p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Statutes of Ingoldstadt, 1472.

office, as in the case of the Vice Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, were not unknown. It may finally be observed in speaking of this officer that custom has almost invariably in the trans-Alpine bodies compelled the Rector to be in orders, and as a consequence until the 16th century he was constrained to observe a strict celibacy.<sup>b</sup>

The Deans, the immediate officers of the Faculties, and their predecessors the Proctors of the Nations, need not long detain our attention. They were selected by their respective Faculties or Nations for the performance of such routine duties as might befall. The position of the Proctors had been in earlier days of the greatest importance, since they had managed the delicate business of securing the discipline and security of their nation in its foreign home, while in later days, where they survived as in England, they retained their superintendence of police arrangements.

The Deans of Faculties were chosen to attend to current business, and to their care in particular was confided the management of the disputations for degrees. Where all traces of national organisation had died out, or where as in the Universities founded after 1409 it never existed, the Deans of Faculty<sup>c</sup> fulfilled the police duties of the Proctors.

With the growth of the permanence of the Universities, either through the development of the Faculties or of the College system, or through both together, the teaching body became eager for a share in the administration of the common affairs. It was impossible that the body of men who had to concern themselves with the task of tuition should be excluded from the direction of affairs in which they had the most vital interest. Nor in the earlier Universities would it appear that even the undergraduates were excluded from a voice in the common councils;<sup>d</sup> but the ever forward progress

<sup>b</sup> At Ingoldstadt the Rector was elected by Council, and must be a celibate. Cohabitation was so common among lower clergy as to arouse no disgust, but it was felt that the Rector should be more circumspect.

<sup>c</sup> In 1409 was founded Leipsic, a shoot from the tree of Prague, and here first there were no nations, for its founders had quitted Prague through a quarrel about the position of the nation of Bohemia in respect to the other three.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Prantl. In the earliest Statutes of Ingoldstadt it is stated,

of the anti-democratic tendency gradually excluded, first the undergraduates, then the non-regent masters, and concentrated finally all executive power in the hands of the body of lecturers. Sometimes, as at Cambridge in the 15th century, an inner Caput or limited Council was formed, and drew much of the initiative power of the Council to itself: always with the progress of time, came attempts to limit the independence of University opinion by concentration of the chief authority in the hands of a few.

In the 16th century, the ordinary members of the Council were Arts masters actually employed in lecturing, and similarly those engaged in the work of tuition in the higher Faculties; yet this was the case only in already founded Universities, for in those of Reformation growth the numbers of the Senate were still more limited. Yet even in so conservative a body as that of Ingoldstadt, seats in the deliberative Council became confined to graduates elected by vote from the active regents of the different Faculties. So entirely was the popular nature of the primitive Assembly forgotten.

Of the Degree.

It will be more appropriate to speak of the University degree in connexion with the old educational bodies. The 16th century marks the close of a remarkable chapter in human ideas, and the commencement of one with which we have better acquaintance.

Latin Christianity had been an attempt at international unity through the medium of a common faith, and the sovereignty of a common spiritual lord; the academic course of the Middle Age was based on no narrower conceptions.

The earliest degrees were divine commissions, granted by the Church herself, and of weight wherever the doctrines and authority of the Catholic Church were acknowledged. Its bestowal was a ceremony of an entirely religious character, and calculated by its attendant solemnities to impress the imagination of the recipient with the true nature of its meaning.

How different was the later view taken of an University degree. When nations lost their common religious tie the that in the weightiest matters the Rector is to call both graduates and students together for consultation.

world wide importance was lost also ; and when the work of lecturing in the Universities became limited to a fixed resident body, the old meaning almost vanished. The lapse of years alone was needful to justify the popular idea that a degree was not a sign of any fitness on the part of the recipient, of any past study, or of any sense of the responsibility inherent in the possession of knowledge, but merely the result of residence in an University, or a distinction mysteriously connected with the possession of gentility.

A peculiar feature, as unique as that conception of the <sup>The Colleges.</sup> import of a degree in the Middle Age which we have just noticed, is the existence in the pre-Reformation Universities of Colleges.

They were the outcome of superstition and piety, of the desire to ensure the future welfare of the founder's soul, as well as of real compassion for the needy, and desire to give education to the poorest. The Colleges were founded for the support of the lowest classes at the University. Their endowments were to help the poor student through the long years of the Arts course, and the equally lengthy probation of the higher Faculties. The Universities were scarcely thought of for the rich ; for nobility in the 14th and 15th centuries was held to be graced by ignorance, and when the desirability of greater knowledge and culture for the upper classes became acknowledged, it was not to the Universities that they first repaired for instruction. In England, unfortunately, after the Reformation the contrary idea arose, and the Colleges became the chosen resorts of the gentry, who felt little compunction at the alteration of the original purpose of the founders. On the Continent, in the Catholic Universities, the Colleges survived the storms of the age and continued their influence, but in the new founded Academies they found no place.

They were as a rule the homes of Conservative feeling, and the Universities which were best provided with Colleges were the best fortresses of Roman Catholicism in the struggle with the followers of Luther and Calvin. Indeed the College organization was well adapted for the system of individual repression, which was characteristic of the Roman

party, and its preservation was carefully watched; \* while the patronage of the order of Jesuits maintained its importance. But everywhere in Ingoldstadt, in Heidelberg, in Paris (especially in the Sorbonne), and Oxford, the same thing was to be observed throughout the Reformation era, that the Colleges were the sure homes of the advocates of the old faith.

Endowment of  
Medieval and  
Modern Uni-  
versities.

It is a characteristic sign of the difference of position of the before and after Reformation Universities, that the one depended on the Church for endowment, the latter had almost at once to look to the State.

An invariable privilege sought by the young bodies of the Middle Ages from the Pope, was permission to hold benefices with a dispensation from residence for a term of years. So we find Boniface IX. granting to all students at Erfurt right of non-residence for ten years, and such grants might be multiplied as instances. Sometimes also, as in the case of Paris, an University possessed a claim to a share in the nominations to vacant benefices, or a right to demand that the vacancy should be filled up from the number of its graduates.<sup>†</sup>

Whatever might be the endowments of pious benefactors for the support of the poor, the great fund, on which the members of the University drew, was the revenue of the Church. It was quite a natural proceeding in the days when all members, even lawyers and doctors of medicine, could be in lower orders.

The Reformation made a sweeping change in England and Germany. Disendowment went on in either country to a greater or less extent; but church property was not converted so entirely to the purposes of education as the Reformers had hoped. The new Universities, Wittemberg, Königsberg, Marberg, were dependent absolutely on the bounty of their secular sovereign, and were generally subsi-

\* Cf. Prantl. Vol. I. At Ingoldstadt (even before end of 15th century) the residence in Bursae was made necessary to all desirous of obtaining a degree.

† Cf. Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Université de Paris* (from 1594). In January or July the University had the right of nomination; in April and October their graduates must be nominated by patron.

dised altogether by the State. The older academies, which became Protestant, as Heidelberg or Oxford, were compensated to some extent for their losses by the acquisition of some of the confiscated property,<sup>s</sup> yet their gains were scarcely equal to their loss, while their incomes<sup>a</sup> were frequently very inadequate; if the University of Heidelberg benefitted by the property of several Augustine houses, still on the other hand Dr. Cox has to lament at the close of the reign of Henry VIII., that the revenue of Oxford is but £5 per annum.

On the other hand, the Catholic Universities retained their old advantage, and in 1523 we find Hadrian VI. granting canonries and rent charges on various parishes to the University of Ingoldstadt, as a reward for the services rendered by Eck against the Professors of Wittemberg. With respect to this point of endowments, only one more thing need be noticed, that the exertions of the Protestant teacher was quickened by the spur of necessity and the desire to eke out his narrow income with the fees of his pupils, while abundant endowments left the wealthy Catholic bodies no motive for exertion. Hence the apathy of the one and their easy conquest by the Jesuits, and hence the success and importance of the other.

It is noteworthy of the Mediæval Universities of the North, that they were as a whole unfavourable to the pursuit of either Law or Medicine until after the years of the Reformation: unless, as happened in the case of Orleans, or Montpellier, special circumstances favoured their development. To speak generally, those of England, or Germany, or France, who wished to study either of these two branches of knowledge, were forced to betake themselves to Padua, or Bologna, or the great medical school of Montpellier, until a date much more recent than that with which this essay is concerned.

It is also of importance to observe that neither of these two branches of study commend themselves to our notice, either in the 15th or 16th centuries, by any remarkable

<sup>s</sup> Cf. Hantz. *Geschichte von Heidelberg*, Foundation of Elector Palatine's Philosophical College, 1535.

<sup>a</sup> Ant. & Wood, Vol. II., under year 1547.

The Faculties  
of Law and  
Medicine.

advance, nor was their position much affected by the religious or literary crisis. Law had been too well studied in the Italian Universities,—the homes of practice as the Northern of theory—to derive any benefit from the overthrow of Scholasticism, in whose meshes it had never been involved : while Medicine, despite the influence of Arabic skill and traditionary learning, was still in the stage of infancy, and yet expectant of discoveries, such as that of Vesalius, as well as of the scientific advance which distinguished the succeeding century, before it could lay claim to be a truly scientific pursuit.

**Medicine.**

The study of Medicine borrowed from the Eastern sources, had first found a home in Italy. The school of Salerno ranks amongst the earliest of the European Universities, and has always been esteemed the first home of Medical studies in the West. The study however spread throughout Italy, so that at Bologna, at Padua, and in other more Northern towns, arose Universities for the pursuit of Medicine and teachers of extended repute. The example of Italy was followed on the further side of the Alps either by the separate erection of bodies such as the University, originally designed for the exclusive teaching of Medicine : or else by the addition of another Faculty as was the plan in Paris, and the bodies which followed her system.

Although the Medical lectures were likely to be among the subjects least liable to be influenced by the interference of the schoolmen ; still the prevailing passion for Dialectic invaded the course of Medicine, and empty disputations akin to those which occupied the attention of the Artists and Theologians, superseded the practical study of scientific objects.

The real importance of the 16th century for this Faculty was, that it restored it to its proper pursuits, and substituted practical work for wordy talk.<sup>1</sup> In other respects the

<sup>1</sup> Of this there is plentiful evidence in later Statutes, cf. M. Jourdain, *Hist. de Paris* (de 1600), chap. i. ; the new Statutes of Henry IV. ; Statutes of Tübingen, 1601. In these we are told that to aid Anatomy "*ex vicinis locis capitibus damnatorum corpora petentibus Medicis concedi mandabitur.*"



advance was small; Galen and Hippocrates, the writers whose works had been the text books of the Middle Ages, retained their position, and are to be met with in all the new statutes of this age. This was the time of literary and religious interest, another century was to introduce scientific enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> The studies of Canon and Civil Law had both found a congenial home in Italy; partly from the connection of that country with the Papacy and the Empire, and partly from the peculiar genius of the Italian, which found greater delight in the scientific systems of Law and Medicine than in the acquisition of Theology, or a knowledge of the crude philosophic system of the Arts faculties of the North.

The study of the Canon Law, while it presented less attraction to the minds of the Italian jurists, than the Civil, was far more favourably received in the Northern Universities where allegiance to the Church was stronger. Paris, which at the command of the Papal see had expelled the study of Law from its schools as unworthy, had none the less retained the teachers of the Canon Law; nor were its Professors less favoured in the foundations of Germany. In England, national dislike had from the day of Vacarius, 1158, continued to discourage the study of the Civil Law, and we have already alluded to the final exclusion by the Tudors of the Canons of the Roman Church.<sup>2</sup>

The Reformation, shattering as it did the edifice of the Mediæval Church into two great divisions, had the natural effect of confining this branch of legal study to the Universities which remained faithful to the ancient faith, and imparting to its study a controversial character.

In the earliest ages, it is said,<sup>3</sup> before the intellectual interests of Western Europe had been diverted by the brilliant genius of the 12th century to other objects, Law was an universal study, so that Dante had to lament that only the Decretals engaged men's study, while Roger Bacon complains, "the jurisprudence of the Italians has destroyed, since

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Edward VI.'s Statutes, Cambridge; Statutes of Tübingen, 1601; Heidelberg, 1558; Paris, 1595.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Commission of 1535.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. von Dollinger, *Die Universitäten*.

forty years, the study of wisdom: yea, even the Church and the kingdom."

The enthusiasm for the revived study of the Civil Law, the engrossing interest of which Dante and Bacon lament, had in the 12th century or even earlier, given birth to the famous Law University of Bologna. That body since it embodied most of the earliest principles of the mediæval foundations, and was the example imitated by all the Law schools of Italy and Southern France; while on the other hand it presents a complete contrast to the ecclesiastical foundations of the trans-Alpine countries, deserves some slight consideration.

"Bologna is commonly supposed to have sprung into existence at the Diet of Roncaglia, when the great Emperor Frederick I. bestowed on it a charter of rights and privileges, by which the foreign students who flocked to hear lectures, should be protected alike during their journey and their residence.

This charter, it is noticeable, was granted by Frederic as King of Lombardy; and so Bologna received its first official recognition not from the head of the spiritual, whose emancipation was as yet incomplete, but the temporal power, nor was it until the next century, that we find the Pope interfering in the internal affairs of the University."

The Civil Law  
and Bologna.

The great feature of Bologna, as of all the earliest Academies, was the importance of the students in the management of all University affairs. The choice of the Rector lay in the hands of the students, and that officer had to be selected from their number; all the privileges of the University were granted to and enjoyed by them; theirs it was to select the professors whom they wished to lecture, and to meet in the common assembly for the discussion of affairs of moment. The University was thoroughly democratic in constitution; the position of the professors (the *magistri regentes* of the North) was insignificant, and curious to relate the full advantages of the University were alone conferred on the foreign students. The natives of Bologna itself

\* Cf. Savigny, *Histoire du Droit Romain*, Vol. III., p. 124.

\* Honorius IV. interfered, in 1224, in a dispute about rectorate. Cf. Savigny, Vol. III., chapter on Bologna.

were liable to the jurisdiction of their native magistrates as well as to that of the rector, to military service and the payment of taxes, while they were excluded from presence or a vote in the University council. Among the individual traits of the character of Bologna and the Southern Universities, we cannot help noticing the closeness of sympathy between the students and the town, and the manner in which the municipal spirit of mediæval Italy found expression in her educational bodies. The effect of this municipal spirit was in one way peculiar: the feeling of local jealousy, so characteristic of the cities of Italy, manifested itself very strongly in the Universities. To this we can trace a very peculiar revolution in Bologna. Originally we saw the students were all important, but gradually their importance was taken from them. The study of Law was regarded as a rigid monopoly which the city should strive in every manner to confine to itself: as a consequence, the Bolognese secured in process of time that the sole teachers of the Civil Law should be natives of the town. The result of such a rule was of the gravest importance, for the bestowal of degrees at Bologna was conferred, not by the Pope or the Emperor, but by the doctors who were engaged in teaching; so that the promotion to degrees lay wholly in the hands of persons bound by interest to prevent the concession to foreigners of a license to teach, which might be exercised to the ill of their University.

Such restrictions naturally impaired the position of Bologna, for few cared to pursue a course of studies without the ultimate gain of a degree. Its great reputation, however, as a School of Law, of Medicine, and even of Arts and Theology, preserved its continued existence, and in the 16th century it was full of life and activity; while the munificence of Sixtus V. and the Cardinal Borromeo,\* provided it with fresh colleges to accommodate the great increase of its numbers. Indeed the 16th century was distinctly favourable to the pursuit of legal studies. The greater delicacy of diplomatic relations had called for a professional training, and the want of lawyers for the Imperial service had been alleged as

\* Cf. Guingene, *Histoire de Littérature du Midi*.

an argument in favour of the foundation of the University of Ingoldstadt in the previous century.<sup>p</sup>

Nor was its study neglected in the Reformation Universities, provision was made by the Elector Albert Achelles for a reader of civil law in his foundation at Königsburg: a similar professor was appointed by the renewed statutes of Tübingen, and Edward VI. prescribed the study of the Pandects, the Codex, as well as "*jura ecclesiastica nostri regni.*"

The Faculty of  
Theology.

Equally in the old and new Foundations, the Faculty of Theology occupied a most important position. The feeling of the Universities, until perhaps the latter half of the 17th century, was distinctly for Theology; while during the Reformation years themselves the influence of the religious struggle reacted alike on Catholic and Protestant bodies.

Whether the Vulgate and the scholastic divines should still obscure the Greek and Hebrew Testaments and the primitive fathers, was the dispute of the age in the Universities; just as the rival merits of works and justification by faith were the questions of the people.

The interest of the study of Theology in an age when Western Europe was torn with the dissensions of Protestant and Catholic was all absorbing, and in the newly founded Lutheran Academies, as well as in the Universities which adhered to Rome, the studies of literature and philosophy, of law and medicine, faded into insignificance beneath the heat of doctrinal discussion.

Neither in earlier times had the Faculty held a less prominent position. In the Universities where, as in Paris, Church influences were all in all, the Faculty of Theology possessed an extraordinary power. Paris in the 15th century had won through her divines an importance never before and never again conceded to any body of divines; under the leadership of Gerson she had menaced with retribution the degeneracy of the Roman pontiff, and had the glory of universal respect paid to her as the gaurdian of Catholicism.

<sup>p</sup> Prantl. Geschichte von Universität Ingoldstadt.

The Faculty of Paris or Cologne advocated the cause of the Vulgate or the Sentences, that of Wittemberg of the Bible and the Fathers; yet each of them enjoyed an almost equal popularity; for though the earlier literary contest of the humanists with the friends of scholasticism evoked but a partial interest, the cause of the Councils, or of anti-reform, as well as that of Luther, appealed to the interests and the passions of the many.

The influence of the Reformation, it is evident, principally affected the Theological studies; for the changes in those of Arts were chiefly due to the struggles of the leaders of the Renaissance, and owed their adoption rather than their birth to the religious controversy. Theology, until the influence of Erasmus and of Luther had made itself felt, was mainly concerned with scholastic quibbles; its chief interest lay in the rival parties of the Thomists and Scotists, and its researches were limited to the Latin Vulgate, the Sentences, and the writings of the Schoolmen.

The scorn of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* has gibbeted the ignorant folly of the orthodox divines, and the testimony of Erasmus and of our own Colet has heaped contempt on their arrogant presumption. In Wittemberg and its imitators the text of the Bible occupied the sole attention of the public lecturers,<sup>a</sup> though they sought further elucidation in the works of the Latin and Greek Fathers, and even in a general appeal to classical literature. On this point we shall have further to comment when Wittemberg, and those Universities which adopted Reform, come under our notice.

This one point further is perhaps worthy of attention, that though the religious excitement in Oxford and Cambridge was as keen as on the continent, the years of the Reform agitation, no more than those of the Middle Ages, brought into existence an ordered and organised Faculty of Theology.

<sup>a</sup> "Qui ad novi Testamenti lectionem deligitur Graecâ, qui ad vetus explicandum Hebraicâ linguâ, ut par est, instructus esto."—Stat. of Theological Faculty of Heidelberg, Reformed Statutes of 1575. Cf. Hantz, *Geschichte von Universität Heidelberg*, Vol. II., p. 422.

We have already said that the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Theology were in the old fashioned Universities only attainable after the successful termination of the Artist course, and a fresh time of probation.

From the common statutes of Vienna<sup>\*</sup> and Ingoldstadt we learn that for the grade of Bachelor in Theology six years of preliminary lecturing were necessary, at the expiration of which period the candidate was permitted to read lectures on allotted portions of Scripture. Then by study of Lombard the bachelor became a "Sententiarius," with the right to lecture on the Sentences; yet it was not until the expiration of the tenth year of his theological course that the candidate was admitted to the office of Licentiate, and a few months later to the supreme degree of Doctor. Nor were the courses in Law and Medicine much less tedious, that of Law lasting seven years, and that of Medicine five; so lengthy was the full course of the Mediæval Universities.<sup>†</sup>

16th Century  
Foundations.

So far we have considered exclusively what, for the sake of distinction, we have called Mediæval Universities, and endeavoured to grasp the outline of their form and system with such modifications as were introduced into them in the course of time: it will now be needful to cast a glance on the principal variations from the old models, to be discovered in the 16th century foundations.

Connexion of  
Universities  
with State.

The chief feature of the Middle Ages was the universal influence of the Church; from the 16th century downwards we have to trace the development of another power in matters of education, the State. The tie which had bound all Europe by a common interest was cut, the great cosmopolitan power of Latin Christianity had been wrecked on the rock of individual freedom, and the struggle of rival religious parties forced the secular authorities to snatch possession of education to secure their own position.

\* Cf. Statutes of 1385 of Vienna. Also their copy in the Statutes of Faculty of Theology at Tübingen.

† The Oxford and Cambridge method by which degrees of B.D., D.D., or D.C.L., are granted after the mere lapse of years from matriculation, and without residence, brings home the original length of an University career.

Although the religious connexion with the Papacy was in the case of the Protestant Universities lost, still the motive of their founders was purely to further the cause of religion; without letters, says Albert Achilles, of Brandenburg<sup>†</sup>, none can be versed in religion, and for that reason he founded the new Schools of Königsberg, "ex quibus postea eligi Doctores ecclesiarum queant"; but the old idea of religious unity was gone for ever, and these new schools were the places for the forging the weapons of sectarian strife, and not for the promotion of the lost dream of an universal and common faith.

It was through their want of independent means that these later Universities fell so much under State influence: they no longer could rely on livings and canonries in the Protestant countries, disendowment had pretty generally gone hand in hand with reform," while with the change of creed, the motives of pious foundations were removed.

We have noticed, that by a gradual process the democratic nature of the primitive foundations was changed to a more oligarchic, and that while the task of teaching was still open to all masters, the power of the executive had fallen almost entirely into the power of the regent masters. The 16th century adopted yet a further change; it deprived the ordinary recipient of a degree of his customary share in University tuition, abolished entirely the "magistri regentes," and placed all authoritative instruction in the hands of Professors appointed either by the University or the State.<sup>‡</sup> Paid Professors were the offspring of the Renaissance, for the desire to attract celebrated scholars had induced the Universities to offer large rewards; the establishment of bodies, such as the Elector of Saxony's University at Wittemberg, or the College of the three languages at Louvaine, placed them finally in sole possession of the task of teaching in the Protestant Universities; only in the most Conservative

Professors in  
place of Re-  
gent Masters.

<sup>†</sup> The charter of Albert Achilles to University of Königsberg, quoted in Koch, *Die Preussischen Universitäten*, Vol. I., p. 563 et seq.

<sup>‡</sup> Albert Achilles disendowed cloisters "zur Verbesserung der Schulen," and erected Königsberg with the money, but his example was not often followed in its latter part. Cf. Koch, Vol. III., p. 536 et seq.

<sup>•</sup> Cf. Von Meiner, *Geschichte der hohen Schulen*, Vol. II.

schools did the former plan of entrusting the work of education to the general body of graduates long obtain. So education at Wittemberg was entrusted to the hands of a body of ten professors, at Tübingen of twenty-five, and in Heidelberg, Königsberg, and other foundations, which commenced with imitating and eventually adopted the example of Wittemberg, to a professoriate more or less limited in number.\*

As the power of teaching within the limits of the University had become thus limited, so also had the right of Assembly in the Council or Senate of the University become restrained to the Professors, the delegates of the Faculties, and the Rector. All idea of vesting power in the hands of the students had passed away, and the direction of all the affairs of moment was transferred for the future to the body of teachers.†

No Colleges.

Yet although the administrative authority was thus concentrated, the discipline of the Protestant bodies was much inferior to that of the Catholic. The new foundations were not possessed of Colleges, and the consequent dispersion of students amidst lodging and private houses produced the most undesirable results; in the more ancient Universities on the other hand, the conduct of the student was under constant restraint, for residence in the Bursae or Colleges, was strictly enforced and made a necessary preliminary to the obtaining any degree. The laments of Luther and Melancthon expose the lamentable want of discipline even in Wittemberg; while the constant statutes against street-riots, ill-living, and extravagant dress are unmistakeable signs of a very wide spread disorder.‡

The weary length of time necessary to be spent before obtaining a degree in the older Universities, led the Reformers in a measure to despise the degrees once so coveted,

\* Cf. Koch. Also Statutes of Tübingen, 1601; of Heidelberg, as revised in 1558. In the Heidelberg statutes it is enacted, "Praeter tres ordinarios Professores nemo sacras literas in schola ordinaria doceto." Cf. Hantz, *Gesch. von Heidelberg*, Vol. II., p. 422.

† Cf. Koch, Hantz, Von Raumer, Hantz, and Meiner.

‡ Cf. Von Mohl, *Rector's Book of Tübingen*, and for similar cases, Lamb's *Documents of C.C.C.*, Cambridge, and Ant. & Wood.



while their first enthusiastic fanaticism made them regard those Academic honours as relics of heathendom. Yet other reasons assisted in this depreciation. The introduction of printing had been fraught with two results of great importance; first, it had destroyed the necessity for oral instruction, and so paved the way for the small band of resident teachers who now as we see managed the various studies; and secondly, while it had limited the length of time which a student need for the future expend on any one study, and while it had abolished the need of lectures and given greater facilities for private study, the art of printing had made the 16th century student very much more careless of degrees, whose original meaning he had lost.

The taking of degrees was consequently a custom little observed in the Protestant schools; while on the contrary the spirit of rivalry and Conservative feeling induced the Catholic Universities strenuously to adhere to the same.

The last important point of difference to which we shall allude is that of the course of Arts as pursued at Wittemberg. Arts Course in the Protestant Academies.

The importance of Wittemberg in the history of education lies in this; that under the guidance above all of Melancthon, it associated the fruits of the Renaissance with the religious movement, and so saved from death, amidst the strife of religious parties, the knowledge which had just aroused the dormant intellect of Europe; while in addition it imparted to the study of the classics all the prestige which men were ready to accord to what was clearly one of the most formidable weapons likely to be employed in the contest. So great and so evident indeed was the general perception of the importance of classical research for either body of religious disputants, that especial care was taken by the Jesuits to attain proficiency therein, whilst the most unprogressive Universities were gradually compelled to admit into their midst the literatures of Greece and Rome.

The efforts of Melancthon were chiefly directed to the introduction of pure texts\* of original authors, and a knowledge less empirical than that of the Schoolmen in all branches

\* The Wittemberg statutes retain the same subjects for candidates for B.A. and M.A. as were pursued in Cologne or Vienna.

of learning, rather than to any actual deviation from the prescribed studies of the Trivium and Quadrivium.

His innovations were confined to the replacing of the Latin Aristotle by the Greek, the more frequent perusal of Latin and Greek writers, the bestowal of less attention on dialectic, and more on rhetoric; and the provision, where other suitable works were wanting, of adequate text books on such matters as grammar, history and rhetoric. More care was taken for literary culture, and less for mental subtlety; the statutes of Wittemberg<sup>a</sup> ordered that the usual weekly disputation should on alternate Saturdays be exchanged for the practise of declamation. The lecture list<sup>b</sup> of the daily course of the University of Königsberg, throws considerable light on the nature of the changes.

The Lecture  
List of  
Tubingen.

The first hour was to be spent over the rhetoric of Melancthon, with reference to the works of Cicero, Quintilian, the treatise of Erasmus de Duplici Copiâ, and the histories of Cæsar and Livy.

The second lecturer treated of Greek grammar, and connected therewith allusions to such authors as Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, or Demosthenes. The third lectured on dialectics; the fourth on poetics and on oratory, taking as models Cicero, and Virgil, and Ovid. The fifth hour was occupied by the lecturers on Hebrew and mathematics; the sixth with the Physics of Aristotle; and the seventh with discourses on Terence and Plautus.

The new Arts  
Course.

The love, however, that had animated the early humanists and had found an home in the mind of the great Reformer Melancthon, met no response in the later days of the 16th century. The love of learning for itself became obscured by its use as a weapon of polemical strife; the freshness which Poggio or Erasmus, More or Mutianus, had lent to the study of the classics, withered in the uncongenial atmosphere of religious seminaries, and the novelty and charm that had characterised the first discoveries of isolated scholars in the unknown fields of classical research, was now supplanted by the more monotonous, if more lasting labours of the pedagogues

<sup>a</sup> Von Raumer, *Gesch. von Padagogik*.

<sup>b</sup> Koch, Vol. I., p. 580.

and teachers, who strove to diffuse more generally the studies of literature and philology.

Exaggeration, which never is far distant from the efforts <sup>Its prominence.</sup> even of the most well meaning, did not forsake the Reformers; and attention to rhetoric was carried to as great an excess as that of dialectic in previous centuries. The study of language for succeeding years occupied entirely such minds as were able to shake themselves free from questions of religious discussion, and the bare acquisition of language became the chief pursuit of those new schools whose existence was due, partly to the great attention paid by the Lutherans to secondary education, and partly to the rival exertions of the order of Jesuits. It will be necessary later in this essay to examine the relations of the Protestant and Catholic Universities to the ordinary schools; it will be here sufficient only to mention, that the erection of a system of secondary education was intended to relieve the Universities of the task of instructing students in the elementary subjects of the Arts course; that it thus caused the age of matriculation to be somewhat later, and reduced the length of the course for the degree; and that it was only after adverse experience that the school and the University were kept quite separate, and even placed in different localities.\*

We have thus considered the chief features of novelty in the Universities of the 16th century, and endeavoured to ascertain their difference in design and detail, from those owing their birth to an earlier age; one subject however has been omitted—which from its especial connexion with Wittenberg will best be spoken of when we come to speak of that University;—the marriage of the teachers; an innovation certainly amongst the most daring of this revolutionary age.

From the consideration of the constitutional forms of the European Universities it is now time to pass to their relations with the stirring events with which the Reformation years were filled. To mark the various relations of the educational centres of Italy or France, of England or Germany, with the

external world ; to trace the religious bias which animated their several actions, to note how far upon their inner existence the social and political questions of the day re-acted and produced effect, these will be considerations to which the remaining pages of this essay will be devoted. Italy will first demand our attention, then France and England, and last of all Germany, and with the notice of the Universities of that country we must relinquish a subject, whose extent forbids its exhaustive treatment within the narrow limits of an academic exercise, and whose numerous points of interest demand a too absorbing attention.

### *Italy.*

History of the  
Universities  
at the com-  
mencement of  
the 16th cen-  
tury.

The Mediæval Universities were then such as we have endeavoured to show, imposing corporations gifted with almost royal powers and venerable for their age and fame. Yet, whatever their claims to respect from their antiquity and unbroken continuity of existence, the exigences of the time were such as to demand change in their organization, as well as in their educational method.

The Universities, it has been already remarked, were from the Mediæval times dependent on the Papal See, garrisoned by Franciscan monks and other chosen champions of the faith, and permeated, as regarded their teachers and their students, with a strong ecclesiastical character.

The majority of the teachers, and large numbers of the taught, were in orders, and the monastic houses were the readiest homes for strangers in search of lodgings. In the 15th and 16th centuries an entire change took place : the bonds of Mediæval ideas were thrown aside ; a new conception of Christianity arose, ignorant of the causes of the Mediæval Theology or the Monastic orders. Conceptions of a national life and a national religion supplanted the universal comprehension of the Catholic Church, and swept into obscurity the primitive system. The revolution was the result of the revival in Europe of intellectual activity through the move-

ment called the Renaissance. In Italy that movement never became more than a Literary movement; but in France, in Germany, in England, and the Low Countries, the efforts of the Reformers were soon transferred from the field of letters to that of religion. The Italian was content with the overthrow of the barbarity of scholasticism; to Erasmus, and to Luther, the Renaissance was, above all, the Renaissance of religious truth. Under such circumstances a rupture with the prevalent system became inevitable, and the necessity arose for a fresh system of education to supply the place in the province hitherto held by the Church and her ministers. But, beyond this organic change, there were other matters which cried for immediate care.

The whole course of Mediæval University education was out of date in the 16th century. While the world was athirst to partake of the literary activity of the Renaissance, the teachers of the University continued their weary, useless disputations and arguments. Real knowledge they had none; their sole attention was given to the pursuit of studies as unmeaning as they were useless. As scholars they were so deficient that the ridiculous Latinity of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* was accepted as a faithful imitation of their literary style; as Theologians, so ill-versed that they held the Vulgate to be of more importance than the Hebrew text; as teachers, from their ignorance and vices, so unworthy as to be the laughing-stock and shame of all learned men. Regardless of the vast discoveries made around them, the teachers of Paris or Cologne, of Louvaine or Oxford, persisted in the studies bequeathed by the 13th century, and ignored, in arts as in theology, the intellectual progress of their contemporaries. Nor, whilst the teachers and studies were so out of sympathy with the times, were the arrangements of the Universities more acceptable.

The discovery of printing affected few more than the Academic bodies. They had been founded and had grown up in times when books were scarce and the necessity of oral instruction imperative. As a consequence, the number of teachers was proportionately very large for the body of students, while the need of thoroughly impressing their

Predominance  
of Mediæ-  
valism.

Effect of dis-  
covery of  
Printing.

studies on the minds of the hearers rendered a lengthy course necessary.

With increased facilities for the acquisition of books, all this changed; the students were able to instruct themselves to a much greater extent, and there was less need of a lengthy residence in the University. The long periods of years, which the old system had forced young men to pass in a state of pupillage before final admission to a degree, now appeared a cumbrous and antiquated restriction, and the courses of the Universities were deserted for private study and instruction. The youth of the age flocked to the teachers of the new learning to the complete abandonment of their former masters, and the numbers of the Universities<sup>d</sup> dwindled. No less damaging to the old foundations was the rise of an independence of spirit on the part of the students, which wrought a great change, especially in the German Universities.<sup>e</sup> There, it had been customary, for the sake of supervision, that the young men should live in the houses of the University Professors, (Bursen, Bursae or Bursaries, as they were called),<sup>f</sup> and in many towns, such young men took precedence over the native students on all public occasions. Now, however, the students endeavoured to avoid this restraint and live by themselves, so that we find in Germany a transition from a collegiate, to what, in modern English, we should call an unattached system. In England,<sup>g</sup> on the other hand, the case was different, and the tendency strongly towards the concentration of the students in Universities. All these features of the time, as well as the noteworthy reluctance to pursue the ancient course of University promotion, are handed down to us in the "Letters of Obscure Men." Let us listen to the complaints of the learned Masters<sup>h</sup> Conrad Unckenbunck and Irus Perlirus to their mutual confident, Ortuin Gratius.

The Epistolæ  
Obscur. Vi.  
rorum.

<sup>d</sup> Bulaeus, History of Paris, VI., 59.

<sup>e</sup> Meiner, "Die Universitäten."

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Meiner, "Die Europäischen Universitäten," Vol. I.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. Huber, English Universities," Vol. I.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. Letter 46, Lib. II., and 58, Lib. II., of "Letters of Obscure Men."

"But, however,"<sup>1</sup> says Unckenbunck, "I have heard that you have few listeners, and your complaint is, that Busch<sup>2</sup> and Cæsarius entice away your scholars and pupils; although they don't know how to expound the poets, or interpret allegorically the scriptures as you do. I believe the Devil is in these poets, for they destroy the Universities. I was told by a Master of Leipsic, that in his youth there wasn't a Poet among twenty thousand, and the place flourished. Then the pupils went regularly to lecture, and a nice business there was if any student was seen in the street without his Hispanus, or Parva Logicalia, or the Vade Mecum, or the Opus Minus (if he were a grammarian) under his arm.

"Why, then, bachelors were promoted four times a year, and fifty or sixty of them at a time, and as for their parents, they gladly paid their fees when they saw their sons promoted to degrees. In those days you might find some two thousand students at Leipsic and Erfurt, and four at Cologne or Vienna. But, nowadays they will only hear Virgil, or Terence, or some of these new authors, and will not take their degrees, and so the parents are angry and the Universities are half their former size." "I can remember," says M. Irus Perlirus, "that when a Master went formerly for his bath, he himself had as many boarders in his train as go nowadays to Church on festivals; but now they go hither and thither, and don't care a button for their Masters, and want to live in the town and eat out of College."

From these extracts, we get a tolerably clear picture of the vast discrepancy between the wants of the age and the powers of satisfaction possessed by the Universities. The loss of authority and power on the part of these bodies was doubtless gradual, and perhaps imperceptible; the true nature of the divergence could not be appreciated until that

<sup>1</sup> Epistola Obsc. Viror. Ed. Teubner, 1869, Lib. II., Ep. 48 and 56.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann von Busch was a pupil of the famous school of Deventer. He studied at Heidelberg under Rudolph Agricola. In 1480, and again in 1486, he visited Italy and there met Picus of Mirandola and other notabilities. He had to leave the University of Cologne since his opposition to the old studies aroused the wrath of Hochstraten, and a similar fate befell him in Rostock and Magdeburgh. Philip of Hesse made him Professor of History in his University of Marburg. He died in 1534.

intellectual development, the Renaissance of Classical Letters, had spread across the Alps and precipitated the Reform, not only of the Mediæval Universities, but also of the Mediæval Religion.

Italy and its  
Universities.

The Universities of Italy were numerous, and throughout the Mediæval centuries maintained an undisputed superiority in Europe, and, more particularly, as the great centres of Law and Medicine. Of Bologna and its Law schools mention has already been made, and it has been already pointed out that it was the model for the later Law Schools of Pavia, Padua,\* and Montpellier. Yet, besides excellence in Canon and Civil Law, Italy for centuries claimed precedence in the study of Medicine. Salerno, already in the 9th century, boasted the first European schools of Medicine, favoured by her geographical position and the close proximity of the Saracens.

Palermo and Naples benefited, the one by the previous Saracenic occupation, the other by the beneficence of the Emperor, Frederic II.

Planted in the midst of the most cultivated people of the middle ages, the Italian Universities shared this common fortune; that their course of studies was of a practical and scientific nature, and was so delivered from those attempts to reconcile actual fact with a crude theology, or the data of imperfect knowledge, with vague and hypothetical generalities, which, on the north of the Alps, produced the bewildering and unscientific system of the schoolmen.

The Reforma-  
tion little con-  
cerned with  
Italy.

It was, perhaps, this freedom from theological influences that may account for the seemingly extraordinary fact of the comparative unimportance of the Italian Universities in the 16th century. For that age was preeminently a theological one, and all the great questions then current were fought out on religious grounds. It was scarcely possible that institutions whose studies were entirely lay, or a people whose national pride urged them to a policy of religious Conservatism, would be deeply moved in favour of a Revolution, whose motives lay outside their comprehension, and whose

\* Padua owed its birth to a migration from Bologna (1228) just as Leipzig to a similar exodus from Prague in 1409.



success, as it menaced the Papacy, was obviously calculated to injure their national pride.

We must not then feel surprised to learn that the Italian Universities, throughout the Reformation epoch, in no way maintained the prominent position won in the previous century. Though they remained the homes of a culture higher than any to be met with elsewhere in western Europe; though to have received one of their degrees was a distinctive honour,<sup>1</sup> they were no longer a Power in Europe; but yielded the palm to the thinkers and scholars of Germany, and their own independence, in the days of the Catholic reaction, to the Society of the Company of Jesus.

The Renaissance of letters in Germany, in England, in France, was the prelude to a great religious movement; in Italy it never got beyond its mere literary character. To appreciate the Italian position towards this German development of the Renaissance there are some few points necessary to grasp and recollect; for, in this instance, it is particularly hard to dis sever cause and effect, and to see that, although the literary progress of Italy when imparted to Erasmus and Luther fired the mine of religious disturbance, her influence was purely scholarly, and, with such exceptions as Pico della Mirandola, quite exempt from doctrinal import.

Absence of  
Religious  
Movements in  
Italy.

The Reformation was an assertion of spiritual independence and individuality, and a protest against the universal theories of the Mediæval Papacy. The Renaissance, by the revival of Greek and Latin literature, first rescued the individual from insignificance; for the feature of these literatures is the assistance they lend to intellectual growth.

The literary movement led to the religious, but the circumstances of the Italian, while they made him the first to accept the former, disinclined him for the latter. In the first place he was the creation of unusual political surroundings. Mediæval Italy was a collection of detached cities and states, animated with the bitterest jealousy towards one another and

<sup>1</sup> The following note shows what Erasmus felt in the matter; “. . . Quam ad rem, duo quædam pernecessaria jamdudum sentio, alterum ut Italiam adeam; quo scilicet ex loci celebritate doctrinulæ nostræ nonnihil auctoritatis acquiratur,” &c., &c.

connected by no strong common bond of national unity. The Republican form of government predominated, and a restless and passionate populace found expression for their discontents in frequent revolutions. All might participate in the government; none could foresee what turn of fortune might not elevate him to the summit of power; all knew that exile or ruin were as imminent. To fit themselves for all possibilities the Italian aimed at universality of genius, and sought to make the Individual in practice, like the perfect state of theory, self-sufficient. So it is we find the great men of the 13th century remarkable for their variety of accomplishments. Leonardo du Vinci<sup>m</sup> was a Poet, as well as a Painter, a musician as well as a mechanician. Skill in metal-working, as in the case of Benvenuto Cellini, went hand-in-hand with the qualities of a successful assassin, and proficiency in arms was considered only the fit complement for literary excellence. From such a condition of popular feeling the rapid development of the intellect was inevitable, and Italy in that respect stood far ahead of the barbarism of chivalrous Europe. Until the general introduction of ancient literature, an event precipitated by the Mahomedan seizure of the Byzantine Empire, the intellect of Italy lacked sufficient scope for its exercise. It is true it had striven already in the pursuits of painting and architecture; its full vigour however was yet to come. The restoration of Latin literature, and in a measure of Greek, gave new fields for enquiry, and a ground of mutual interest, while it promised a substitute for a want the Italian was conscious of.

Amidst all his worldly wisdom and his apparent egotism, the Italian had always felt the keenest interest for the land of his birth. To the rude nations of Europe he felt himself a superior; and, since the German Emperor was now no more than an impotent Potentate, agitated only by the cares of his hereditary estates, and the Pope an absentee from the city of Rome, there was little to attract the attention of an Italian to exterior politics. His whole interest was concentrated on the past glories, the more so as the dark clouds of

<sup>m</sup> Vasari, "Lives of Painters." In the Memoirs of da Vinci, Vasari praises highly his mechanical genius.

turbulent disorder and misery too often obscured the brightness of the present.

It was with rapture he embraced the studies which revealed to him the story of Rome in her ancient pride, and spoke of an united Italy and world-wide Empire. But, beyond this the new studies offered to minds, conscious of the puerility and deceptions of the religious system of the Mediæval Church, hopes of some more adequate explanation for the conduct of human life than had yet been afforded them.

The effect of the Classical Renaissance on the Italian.

The theology of the middle ages had had for its central conception the idea: that human excellence could only be attained by the severance of the individual from his immediate surroundings and by his complete abstraction from the influence of the world.

Thus alone could immunity be insured from the contamination of the human race and share in their inevitable doom. The monastic system had been one of the chief expressions of that belief, together with the superstitions reverence for sacred localities.

Before the rude touch of disenchantment, however, those conceptions passed away, shattered by contact with Eastern civilisation, and disproved by the violence and rapine that had disgraced the very precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. The spread of the Aristotelian influence, permeated as it was by Arabian mysticism, alienated the minds of the most educated from their former beliefs, and produced in Italy a very general dissatisfaction. To satisfy their national pride, and their intellectual, as well as their religious cravings, the Italians threw themselves heart and soul into classical literature. From the year of Chrysoloras's first residence in Italy, until the close of the 15th century, that country was the scene of ceaseless activity. Some, like John of Aurispa, devoted themselves to the collection of manuscripts and their transport to Italy; others, as Poggio and Guarino, spent their days in study and teaching.

The Popes, restored to their capital and power, spent example and fortunes in the support of the new studies. The Vatican, and the Court of the Florentine Medici, were the open resorts of every scholar of genius or distinction. The

Purely literary interest.

discovery or edition of a new classic was the passport to honour and preferment. Nor were the efforts of the Italian scholars simply those of reproduction. The Latin style of Politian, or of Mirandola, was graceful and forcible. The Latin poems of Politian, says Mr. Hallam, display considerable powers of description, and a strong feeling of the beauty of Roman Poetry.

A school of Platonists had arisen in Florence, under the superintendence of Ficinus, fated indeed to produce no great results, but a mark of the vigorous intellect of the times.

Hebrew, for centuries a buried study, revived, and the traditional theology of the Jews seems to have produced no inconsiderable result on the speculation of an age whose tendency was towards mysticism.

Nor was the progress in Scholarship less marked; the knowledge of Hermolaus Barbarus was as superior to that of Valla or of Poggio, as theirs to Boccaccio or Petrarch.

As a natural consequence, the Italian University towns were, in the years preceding the 16th century, as well as the first decade of that age, the cynosure of all European scholars.

Thither, between 1480 and 1510, flocked all the men destined to play the leading parts in coming years. At Florence and at Rome, under Politian and Hermolaus, studied Grocyn and Linacre. At Ferrara, 1476, we find Rudolph Agricola, 'the most learned man north of the Alps,' as Erasmus styles him. Latimer went to Padua, Reuchlin was acquainted with the circle of scholars at the Vatican. The court of Leo X. was the chosen resort of every man of letters, and the treasure-house of the choicest manuscripts in the world. Yet, brilliant though the position of Italy appeared, its glories were numbered, and its fame gradually suffered eclipse from the prominent position gained by the Northern Universities.

The testimony of Erasmus goes to prove that the prize of scholarship was no longer for Italy. "Budaeus," he says, "has wrested the palm of either language from the Italians, conquering all others in eloquence of Roman speech, as he surpassed himself in Greek diction." The Italian

Universities had never assiduously applied themselves to the study of Greek, and were soon surpassed by the trans-alpine scholars.

In Latin they kept the lead, and in their original studies of Law and Medicine preserved their old reputation.

Their importance, however, was gone; the eyes of Europe were, henceforth, fixed elsewhere; and in later years, the foreign invasions to which Italy was subjected, on the parts of Louis XII. and Francis I. of France; the rivalry of the Papacy and the Hispano-Austrian rulers; as well as the ambitious schemes of the Popes, combined to oppose the welfare of the University towns.

The results of the 15th century labours appeared to consist of a general high standard of knowledge, a great deal of pedantry, and a strong element of scepticism. In an age pregnant with strong religious emotions, the Italians and their rulers cared only for classical dilettanteism. "Blind imitation of classical models," complain Pico and Erasmus, "are the fashion of the day: but they are not Ciceronic, because they desire to express their meaning more clearly, but for the sake of mere jangle and clash."

"Education," says Villari, "was generally diffused. All had learnt Latin and Greek, all admired the Classics. Painting and the other fine arts received new life. But artists, men of letters, politicians, and the common people, were alike corrupt in mind and without virtue, public or private, guided by no moral sentiments."<sup>a</sup>

Absence of religious element.

Such a state of things had a powerful influence on the intellectual culture; Philosophy was a mere erudition; Letters were either philological disquisitions, or imitations of Homer and Pindar. Nor can the religious aspect of Italy be viewed under more favourable circumstances. That there was considerable movement in favour of reform of doctrine, is indisputable; and we can see that the doctrines of Luther met with sympathy on the Southern slopes of the Alps.

The Papal Bull, with respect to the Inquisition,<sup>o</sup> states that there were then (1642) 3000 schoolmasters suspected of

<sup>a</sup> Villari, *Life of Savonarola*.

<sup>o</sup> Ranke, *Hist. of Popes*, Vol. I., p. 97, Ed. 1647.

heresy; the middle classes were often favourable to the cause of the Gospel, and the individual instances of Vittoria Colonna, of Juan Valdez, of Reginald Pole, or of Don Girolamo, the head of the Academy at Modena, all betoken the presence of a more earnest spirit.

But the tendency towards reform was, in every instance, checked by the proximity of Rome; whilst the first stir of the Catholic reaction, with the rise of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, rendered future growth impossible.

The slight influence of Reform.

Before the renewed vigour of Rome all heresy fled, and Italy manifested no further symptoms of error. What is more directly connected with our subject is to observe that the Universities play little or no part in these years; that the interest concentrates around the Platonic Academy of Ficinus, or that of Girolamo of Modena, and not so much around Padua or Bologna; that literary and religious life gather round a Pico or a Leo X., while the Universities are given up either to unbelief or the sway of the Jesuits. How low Italy fell in the later years of the Reformation may be gathered from the pages of Ascham. In a lament over the undisciplined lives of the young Englishmen of his time, he draws attention to the mischief arising from their visits to Italy, a country, the fashionable resort of the time, yet the avowed home of immorality and atheism; and he laments the growing importance of Italian writers, whose undisguised profligacy threatened the corruption of English society. The Reformation history of the Italian Universities is, therefore, uninteresting. Rich in tasteful and discreet patrons, they remained the acknowledged houses of culture and refinement, and their scholars never needed assistance.

Amid the storms of the time they experienced no organic changes. Devoid of the influence which earnest conviction wins, they were forced to throw themselves on the Conservative side, and, in the Catholic reaction, to surrender their independence to the authority of the Jesuits.

\* Cf. Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Cap. I.

*France.*

Although the undoubted interest of the student of French University history groups itself in the 16th century particularly around the fortunes of the Schools of Paris, there existed institutions of considerable academic importance in various parts of France. Such was the School of Montpellier, with its two Universities of Medicine and Law, the French rival of Bologna and Salerno; such the Law School of Orleans, and the more recent foundation of the English at Rouen. But we are led to observe that the interests of these smaller bodies were, if possible, subjected to more damage in the contests of the period than those of the great mother school of Paris; and that most signally in the case of Montpellier, whose prosperity was so much diminished by the religious dispute and wars of Huguenot and Catholic, as to stand in urgent need of the assistance of Henry IV. for its revival.

The University of Paris had persistently adhered to the <sup>Paris</sup> rôle assumed in the preceding century of defender of the Church, and had shown itself the unwavering supporter of Mediæval Theology and Mediæval methods of thought and of education. The latest reforms of her system<sup>a</sup> before the period under our discussion, were those of the Cardinal Legate d'Estouteville in 1444. Those reforms, however, although of importance, in no way affected the structure or educational course of the University. They dealt with the relaxed discipline and examinations, and sought by increased strictness in the admission of candidates to degrees to reinfuse its ancient vigour into the Mediæval system. From that date until the reconstitution of Paris by the paternal care of Henry IV., notwithstanding various propositions of reform on the part of Francis I., the nature of the University remained unaltered.

Paris could never forget the glory of her past history, <sup>its conserva-</sup> and clung to all that was connected with it. It was impossi-  
<sup>tiam.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Hist. Univ. Paris, Crevier, Vol. IV., pp. 175-195.

ble for her, while she recollected the services her sons had wrought for the Catholic religion, to assume a friendly attitude towards the Reformers, or welcome with avidity the advent of the new studies of Greek and Roman literature; when the ideas and system they threatened to displace had found in her schools their first homes and most talented advocates. "Paris," says a recent writer in speaking of the University towards the commencement of the 17th century, "regardless of the Renaissance had remained as unchanged as Salamanca." The most favoured, indeed the only study of the Faculty of Arts, was the Scholastic Philosophy, now become a lifeless verbiage. To scholarship or criticism the Parisian masters were indifferent; their pride and delight lay in the constant argument of subtle and vain questions, of which the following are specimens: "Shall we eat and drink after the Resurrection?" "Could God have taken on Himself the nature of a woman, a gourd, a devil, or a stone?" The real life of Paris, if life it could be called, was expended on this empty argument. The faculty of Theology was, as may be supposed, no less Conservative than that of Arts. The schoolmen of the 13th century, in their desire to defeat the monotheistic tendency of the Arabo-Aristotelian influence, had constructed an hypothetical system to account for all things in heaven and earth, and left nothing to future ages but the comparatively easy task of deduction. Even the Holy Scriptures, and their various interpretations, had been reduced to a succession of axioms in the sentences of Peter the Lombard. Nowhere could more ardent followers of Lombard, or the 'great Doctor' be found than in the Halls of the Sorbonne. It is true that the divisions of the Scotists and the Thomists aroused no slight disturbances in theological circles; yet, to a man, the Doctors of Paris were determined to unite against any innovations in belief or instruction.

Renaissance  
Teachers at  
Paris.

We can easily understand that in so unkind a soil the revived learning was long in taking root. As early as 1458 a certain Grégoire was permitted to give daily in Paris two lessons, one in Greek and the other in Rhetoric. Grégoire was the pupil of the celebrated Manuel Chrysoloras, and for

' "Life of Isaac Casanbon,"—Mr. Pattison.



him, and his subsequent associates, Andronicus of Thessalonica and Hermonymus of Sparta, Crèvier claims the honour of the reintroduction of Latin and Greek studies into the countries North of the Alps. Later on came Balbo Andrelinus and Cornelius Vitellius; their position, however, seems to have been rather humiliating, for Crèvier says they were only allotted one hour, and that after dinner, for all their instruction. Notwithstanding these impediments, Paris was undoubtedly in great repute in Germany and England as the seat of the very studies it so disdained. Thither went the great 16th century master, Rudolph Agricola, as well as Reuchlin and Erasmus. Nor did Paris fail to produce great scholars, for Budæus (concerning whom a sentence of Erasmus has already been quoted,) was undoubtedly one of the best classicists of the age.

It is impossible to associate Erasmus with any particular University. An Englishman might claim him for either of his own Universities, and his name is in many ways identified with the University of Louvaine; but Paris in a peculiar way seems to suggest his mention. The early years of Erasmus's student life had been passed in the most poverty <sup>Erasmus at</sup> stricken and rigid college of that city.<sup>a</sup> Newly escaped from the bonds of monastic life, he there was confronted with the most perfect type of Mediæval scholasticism and life Europe could then afford. He beheld the noisy routine of the schools and realized the deadness of education and religion; while his previous knowledge of the ignorance and corruption of the monastic orders, seconded by this later experience, revealed to him the necessity of a revolution in the conduct and method of education, as well as of a change in religious life and conceptions. But bred up in the most ancient Universities of the north, surrounded with the memorials of the past, he was more desirous of reform than of revolution, and to attain his end by an appeal to the reason, rather than the passions of his fellow creatures. Although the great leader of the Humanists had little in common with the antique spirit of Paris, and although his critical comments on the old Theology, and his unwearying advocacy of the study of good

<sup>a</sup> The College of Montaigu.

classical Literature as the best means of education, were naturally offensive to the pervading spirit of the place, the writings of Erasmus found too many partisans to share the fate of the *Speculum Oculare* of Reuchlin. Still his open advocacy of a spiritual reform, the principles of criticism and rational explanation he employed for the illustration of the Holy Scripture as well as the historical view he took of Christianity, were exceedingly repulsive to the Parisian Doctors. For the reform movement, from the direction it took at the hands of the Germans of organic and doctrinal change, created the angriest feelings in Paris. Summoned by Luther to sit in judgment, together with Erfurt, on the merits of his contest with Eck, it unhesitatingly condemned him. In 1523<sup>\*</sup> with the assistance of the Regent Louise, Duchesse d'Angoutême, it was determined by the University to crush the Lutheran party; and the better to express dissent from all heterodox works, in 1528 the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, a little book in many passages severely critical of the vices and ignorances of the monastic orders as well as of the misguided superstition of the age, was condemned by a majority of four out of seven companies.<sup>†</sup>

For a long time however a confusion existed in the minds of many between the religious and literary movement, and the Reformers were protected in France by powerful patrons, under the impression that thereby the new learning was advanced. Francis I. from a desire to attain a literary reputation, protected the new 'Lutheran' party in Paris, the more readily that they entered the most warmly into his schemes of University Reform. To the shelter thus accorded by Francis I. and his sister Marguerite de Valois, the Reformers owed the respite that enabled them to form a considerable party element in the University until the massacre of St. Bartholemew.

The composition of Paris in the 16th century differed little from that of two centuries before. The organization in Nations and Faculties was still adhered to, though the

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Crevier, Vol. IV., p. 200.

<sup>†</sup> E.g. The four Nations of the Faculty of Arts, and the three Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Theology.

tendency as elsewhere had been towards the aggrandisement of the latter at the expense of the former. The Law Faculties of Paris, however, had neither the renown nor the weight of the Faculties of Theology or Arts. Indeed, the most important branch of legal learning, the Civil Law was, so soon as the 13th century, interdicted by the Pope as unworthy the attention of the Parisians, and though later its study crept in under the shelter of the Canon Law, the study of the civil code never received official recognition.

The important position of the faculty of Theology was clearly manifested by its selection as an arbiter of the 'Speculum Oculare.' The history of that work is notorious. A Jewish convert, John Pfefferkorn by name, had been appointed an inquisitor by the church of the adherents of his former faith. His new born zeal for Catholicism, and the promptings of self interest, induced him to exercise severity, the better to secure the confidence and rewards of his new masters. Accordingly armed with the imperial authority he commenced an onslaught on Jewish Literature, and ordered all Hebrew books to be collected in the market places and openly burnt. The days, when a passion for linguistic knowledge of every sort was universal, were not suitable for such an act of vandalism. Opposition was offered and representations made to the Imperial Court, while Reuchlin, as the man in Germany most conversant with Hebrew literature, was appointed arbiter of the cause. His decision was a victory for the Jews: for although he condemned all writings of an anti-Christian nature he advocated the preservation of the remainder. Pfefferkorn and his friend Hochstraten, the Papal inquisitor, as also the monastic orders and the Universities of the old type were furious. One of the most cherished prejudices of the middle ages had been a hatred of the Jews. Pfefferkorn forthwith attacked Reuchlin in the "Speculum Manuale," and Germany was completely convulsed by the rivalries of the Poets and the Theologians. The reply of Reuchlin, the "Speculum Oculare," elicited a fresh storm of wrath, since it advocated the retention of the Talmud. Hochstraten and the masters of Cologne instantly committed it to the flames and solicited the condemnation of the

The "Oculum Speculare."

Theological Faculty of Paris. In August, 1514, that body met in solemn deliberation, and mindful of the sentence passed by their predecessors (in 1240) against the Talmud, voted that Reuchlin's work should be burnt.<sup>v</sup> The sensation at the time was immense, for the Parisian Doctors, ever since the days of Gerson, had been regarded as the supreme advisers and guides of orthodoxy, and it is doubtful whether the favour of Leo X. for Reuchlin, created so powerful a feeling as the adverse decision of the Sorbonne. But sturdy as was the resistance to novelty, it was impossible that Paris should not experience the influence of the new religious, as well as the new literary views. Her very connexion with Erasmus insured it. The number of his sympathisers in the University, as has been already said, was very considerable; for his writings were seen to be not in their spirit antagonistic to the structure of Catholicism. The Faculty of Theology meanwhile did not cease to make known its discontent; at one time by the condemnation of Marguerite de Valois's book;<sup>w</sup> at another by opposition to the proposed foundation of Regius Professors; at another by refusal to make terms of conciliation with Melancthon. So long, however, as the interests of the court (and the University of Paris became with each year of its existence more and more liable to court influence) were affected by the need of preserving the will of the Protestants, so long did the complaints of the doctors of the old faith go unanswered.<sup>x</sup>

Professor  
Peter Ramus.

The history of the celebrated Student and Professor, Peter Ramus, from its singular incidents, throws much light on the attitude of Paris, alike towards the literary and religious tendencies of the time. Peter Ramus, a man of indomitable energy and courage came in extreme youth and poverty to Paris. There, although employed all day as a

<sup>v</sup> Savigny, *Histoire du Droit Romain*. The decision of any of the Parisian Faculties carried the greater weight in Europe, that, from the well-known unanimity of the University, the decision of one was considered equivalent to that of all.

<sup>w</sup> *Le miroir de l'ame pécheresse*.

<sup>x</sup> For information concerning Ramus vide Crévier, *L'Histoire de l'Université de Paris*; also, Bayle and Duvernet's *History of the Sorbonne*.

college servant, he made the greatest advance in knowledge by his nightly toils. His dislike to the character of the studies then in vogue, as well as his daring, are manifest from the thesis he chose to dispute on for his degree, "Everything which Aristotle has said is false." Such an insult to the author it above all revered, was to throw down the gauntlet to the whole University, and incurred for Ramus the sincere hatred of every advocate of the old learning. But when instead of an apology the new graduate published in the same strain two works called the "*Institutiones Dialecticæ*," and "*Animadversiones Aristotelicæ*" respectively, the wrath of Paris knew no bounds; Ramus was dragged before the royal Judges, and accused (says a contemporary annalist) of an unheard of crime, "*quod Aristoteli repugnando artes et Theologiam enervaret.*" Saved by the intervention of his patron Francis I. from the galleys, he escaped with the loss of his books, and a prohibition to teach Philosophy.

But the plague of 1543 created a dearth of teachers, and before the end of that year we find Ramus installed in the College of Ave Maria, and delivering lectures in Mathematics and Greek and Latin Literature. The character of Ramus, however, was not such as to permit of his long continuance in comparative obscurity, and nine years after his condemnation he was installed by Henry II. in one of those royal chairs (that of Latin Rhetoric and Philosophy) founded in 1530 by Francis I.

The foundation of Professional chairs for the advancement of general culture, but especially of classical and mathematical studies, was a fragment of a more extensive scheme entertained by Francis for the reformation of Parisian studies. The Royal foundations of the 16th century are a distinctive mark of the times, and characterise the development of the Royal powers in relation to the Universities, especially those older ones, such as Paris, Oxford, or Cambridge, whose origin and growth had been due to ecclesiastical influence. They are the first signs of the eventual interference of the State in education, and a not unimportant witness of the break up of the Mediæval supremacy

<sup>1</sup> Bayle, under the head of Ramus.

of the Church in every quarter. Early in the 16th century a private citizen had founded in the University of Louvaine a College devoted to the special study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and thence commonly known as the Collegium Trilingue. The Netherlands were then, as now, the hotbed of Catholic orthodoxy, and Louvaine a great centre of monastic influence; yet the College of the three languages prospered, and was for years the home in that part of Europe of the new studies. The plan of Francis aimed at the erection of a College devoted like that of Louvaine to the study of the languages of antiquity, and he had designed Erasmus for the first President of his new foundation. But supported though the plan was by the learning and authority of the Cardinal de Bellai, of John Lascaris and the king's physician, William Cop, the outcry of the Collegiate teachers of rhetoric and grammar, against an institution for the provision of gratuitous instruction, was so great as to defeat the original purpose of Francis.

Opposition of  
Artists to  
scheme of  
Francis.

He was now compelled to confine his efforts to the subjects hitherto, as Crevier remarks, considered external to the Academic course, and to abandon a College, such as he had proposed, for the creation of chairs and a Royal Professoriate. By gradual and unostentatious additions at subsequent periods Francis increased the number of Professorships to twelve, among which were included chairs of Mathematics, Philosophy, Medicine, and Latin eloquence. The task he had initiated was completed by his successors, and the Royal Professors were embodied in the College du Roi by Louis XIII. The need of such an establishment as Francis first designed is sufficiently manifest from the language of Crevier. "The barbarism of language," says he, "introduced by scholasticism, had so deeply rooted itself in our schools that it was still opposed to the taste of good literature renascent in all Europe: as a rule Philosophy was the fundamental and essential object of the Arts Faculty. . . . So the language of the Latins was disfigured in the schools of Paris, and Greek and Latin little known and neglected." The appointment of a man of Ramus's character could not fail of one result, an instant war with the old fashioned teachers. He

unhesitatingly recommenced his attacks on Aristotle, and held up to derision the futility of the current Theological learning and the barbarous nature of the Latin then employed; almost directly he became engaged in a conflict concerning the pronunciation of Latin, ridiculous enough in our eyes, but fraught with serious interest at the time. For centuries the received pronunciation of the letter "Q" in Paris had been as though it were a "K," and it was held proper to say "Kis," "Kalis," "Kamkam," rather than "quis," "qualis," "quamquam." Against this well established custom a parish priest had the audacity to render his protest and pronounce "Q" as though it were such. The indignant Sorbonne endeavoured to eject him from his benefice, and on their failure dragged him before the Parliament of Paris; but the intervention of Ramus and the Regius Professors saved the unfortunate recusant.\* The anger of the University against Ramus was naturally increased, and an attempt to convince the Sorbonists of the grammatical inaccuracy of the phrase "Ego amat" aroused such a storm as to necessitate the withdrawal of Ramus. Charles IX. gave him for a time shelter at Fontainebleau, and in the Royal library there he was able to pursue his favourite study of Mathematics.

The last years of the life of Ramus were marked by two other acts of hostility to the genius of Paris, his plan of Reform and his outrage on the Catholic feeling of the University in the year subsequent to the Conference of Poissy. We have seen the tenacious adherence of the Parisian teachers to the past, and the opposition they had offered to the designs of Francis. To a proposition to restrict the course of Philosophy from 3½ years to 2½, the Theologians had given an obstinate refusal. The request made by Charles IX. to their bitter foe Ramus to prepare a scheme of Reform was indeed a mortification for the Academicians. Reform was undoubtedly necessary, and that proposed by Ramus not immoderate. The expenses attendant on the bestowal of a degree had grown

Ramus as  
Professor.

Ramus's  
Scheme for  
Reform.

\* A similar ludicrous quarrel arose at Cambridge in 1540-1, concerning the pronunciation of the Greek vowels, and was suppressed by a sharp letter from Gardiner, the Chancellor, and the declaration of an *orthodox* mode of pronunciation.—Lamb's Letters, p. 43.

enormous. To become a Doctor of Divinity it was necessary to pay 1002 livres; licentiatehips in Arts were actually sold at public auctions. In this matter as well as in the system of lectures Ramus desired change. He wished for the recommencement of the public lectures formerly read in the Rue de Fouarre, that by their aid the monopoly of moral, grammatical, and rhetorical teaching hitherto possessed by the colleges might be broken up; he also advocated the creation of eight public lectureships in Morals, Physics, and Mathematics.\* To have more actual study and less idle disputation was his keen desire. Of all the schools in Paris those of Grammar and Rhetoric alone gave him pleasure. "There, at least," said Ramus, "you find good teaching and good morals, for most of the day was given to the study of good authors. Let us have more of original research and less of this barbarous scholasticism. Let our medical students have practical work, and let their manuals be Hippocrates and Galen; and as for our Theologians, let them study the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New in Greek. Let us have done with empty wordy talk."

That so stirring an appeal was fruitless is cause rather for our regret than surprise. The glory of Paris seemed too much bound up with the preservation of her old associations to allow her rulers to yield to the pressure of circumstances; her religious fixity was the cause of their greatest pride; the knowledge of her unwavering adhesion to the Papacy and the Catholic Theology their most peculiar glory. To ask them to change the constitution of the University was in their eyes to deal a fatal blow at that which it was most salutary to preserve. They hated the new learning for its innate antagonism to their own cherished studies; they hated the cause of Luther, for it was the result of this new movement. "We cannot," said Noel Bede, "admit these new royal professors, (those of Francis I.) for they have never fulfilled the Theological course."

It was feared that the study of the original text of the Scriptures would weaken the Vulgate and strengthen the cause of Luther. It was such feelings which animated Paris

\* Cf. Crevier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, Tom. 6, p. 99 et seq.



and made her the ally of Köln against the German Humanists, that bound her to the cause of the Catholic faction in France and kept her the partisan of the Guises.

The position of religious parties in France in the middle of the 16th century was critical. The Huguenot party was powerful, though inferior in real strength to the Catholic. Francis I. had patronised the Huguenots as connected with the great scholars of the day; Catherine de Medici used them as a counter foil to the overweening power of the House of Guise. By her request an assembly met at Poissy in 1561 to discuss the differences of the rival religionists. The actual assembly was a failure: the Theologians of Paris refused to appear, and the chief feature of the meeting was the appearance of De Lainez (the successor of Loyola as General of the Society of Jesu) to obtain admission for the order into France. But in the following year toleration was accorded to the Protestants of the University. Ramus, who had re-appeared in Paris and was an ardent Protestant, had taken up his residence in the College de Presle. There he had openly preached his faith, and now on the declaration of tolerance he tore down the images in the chapel with the characteristic remark, "I have no need of deaf and dumb hearers." Flight was imperative, and the next years of his life was spent in the camp of Condé. Induced to rely on the treacherous security of the Treaty of St. Germain's, he returned to Paris and added a last benefit to his University by the endowment of a Mathematical chair. The anger, however, of a body he had so long braved with impunity at length overtook him, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's night numbered him amongst its most conspicuous victims. With that awful night the sun of Paris set. The strife and confusion of the League, the discord of constant plots, the permanence of danger, deprived Paris of half her students. Nor were these her only troubles. The Provincial Universities now entered with greatest advantage into competition with her; for the warlike nature of the age forbade peaceful travels, and interrupted the communication of the capital with the provinces. Nemesis, too, soon asserted herself, and created in the Order of Jesus foes more subtle and dangerous

Last years of  
Ramus.

Decline of  
Paris from  
1562.

to the prosperity of Paris than the Reformers and men such as Ramus.

Pitiful is the picture drawn for us of the state of the University at the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. "The quarter of the University was filled with mercenaries, Flemish, Spanish, and others: the colleges had become barracks or had been appropriated by strangers. The *Près aux Clercs*, once the recreation ground of the students, now resounded with the lowing of cattle and bleating of sheep provided for the army." The efforts of Henry IV. restored life and animation to the deserted schools, his reforms superseded the antiquated education of the past with a thorough training in classics, and recalled the Superior Faculties to their real studies. But impaired by the effects of its former disaster and hampered by the presence of the Jesuits, the University of Paris never recovered its ancient glory, and with the revolution that shattered the fabric of the Mediæval system, lost alike its primary position and its traditional influence.

### *Oxford and Cambridge.*

Unsatisfactory  
condition of  
Oxford and  
Cambridge in  
1500.

The two English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were, at the commencement of the 16th century, far from remarkable for their zeal in knowledge or the vigour of their intellectual life. The marvellous activity of the Universities in the 13th century had long since perished, and only the obsolete writings and educational system of the Schoolmen remained to testify to the genius and industry which had animated that age. The teachers at Oxford and Cambridge, like their cotemporaries at Paris, clung closely to the letter of Scholasticism, but were unable to master its spirit. The desire for knowledge and the advance of knowledge which led the leaders of Mediæval thought to seek an explanation of the world's existence and phenomena, found no response in their later followers: the comprehensive system designed to satisfy the new awakened consciousness of the 13th century was

<sup>b</sup> A passage of a 17th Century writer quoted by M. Jourdain in his *History of Paris in 17th and 18th Centuries*.

mistaken after the lapse of more than two centuries and an half for the Alpha and Omega of positive knowledge. It is no exaggeration to assert that the year 1500 found Oxford and Cambridge (with the omission of Colet, Moore, and Erasmus, and some few others) untouched by the great literary movement of the time, while wholly devoted to the syllogistic disputations of the schools, and the study among the junior members of Priscian and Donatus, among the higher of the Vulgate and the Sentences, or the Latin Aristotle of the Schoolmen.

The majority of those who entered sought only to qualify for orders, and were content with a degree in grammar. The decay and corruption of the Franciscans now helped towards the general depression of the Universities: just as two centuries earlier their exertions had raised that body to its highest pitch of fame. Now in their decline the Franciscans were the staunchest advocates of the cause of the old learning, and the bitterest foes of that new religious and classical movement, whose leaders in Cambridge and Oxford were Fisher and Erasmus, Colet, More, and Linacre.

The decay of the Universities at this time may be traced to a variety of causes. The prevalence of scholastic influences might seem alone sufficient. The creators of Scholasticism had turned their attention chiefly towards logical and philosophic training. While the stores of actual knowledge available to them were small, so that their writings were filled with the conjectural hypotheses characteristic of thinkers of limited and indefinite learning; they had come in contact with the Aristotle of the Arabians, and possessed themselves of all the rigid machinery of the deductive system. The next step had been to form deductions from their knowledge and to construct therewith a complete harmony of the world. The system, however splendid its conception, was ill-adapted for educational wants. Its teachers degenerated from original thinkers into subtle logicians, devoid of real knowledge. It was in no sense a literary system; it knew nothing of scholarship or criticism; could find no room for the linguistic discoveries of the Renaissance, and still claiming to be all sufficient, was now proved to be untrue and based on in-

sufficient grounds. Yet Cambridge and Oxford still clung to the Schoolmen and the traditional forms of study, and were deaf to the voices of such scholars as Colet or Erasmus.

There were other reasons why the Universities were thus deficient in life. England was only just relieved from the burden of civil war: the security of the country can hardly be said to have been restored until the final defeat of Warbeck crushed the hopes of secret malecontents. The last century had been a singularly turbulent one in the annals of this country: it had seen Henry IV. supplanted by Richard II., Edward IV. by Henry VI., the murder of Edward V. and the victory of Bosworth; it had been chequered by the contests of England with France, and the internecine strife of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Amidst general excitement and tumult learned societies were unlikely to thrive, nor were Oxford or Cambridge exceptional in their fortunes.

1392.

Decay of English Church.

The influence of the church in these years had not been such as to render real assistance to the Universities in their days of distress. The Church of England shared in the fifteenth century the general decay of the English Mediæval Church. Whatever might be its independence of the Roman court, it is impossible to excuse our Mediæval Church from many of the worst faults of the Papal system. Connected with the higher classes to a far greater extent than of old, richly endowed by the beneficence of the past and the present, the English Church exhibited a worldly selfishness of aim discreditable to its sanctity, and fraught in the future with the most disastrous effects to itself. Menaced by the rise of the middle and commercial classes\* it sought to secure its revenue by the revival of the French wars, and a steady adherence to Conservative principles. It is not surprising then that the Church influence in the Universities was repressive; in the case of the Lollards we find its baneful effect most clearly expressed. "The attempted reforms of

\* Cf. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, Vol. III. In 1510, Commons suggested appropriation of some Church lands, to maintain an army.

† It is curious to note the changes of University feeling for Reform. "Note that Oxford was most fruitful of defenders and sufferers for the truth from the coming of Wicliff until the rising of Luther; during

Wycliffe were premature, and the views and actions of many of his followers foolish and even dangerous. Yet there is little doubt that the careful exclusion of all Lollards from the Universities aided greatly their decline: for the talent and activity of the age lay for the most part among the advocates of change.

Nor must we forget that the Universities were during this fifteenth century undergoing an internal revolution. The old Universities had been democratic bodies, gathered into nations North and South, ruled by self-elected officers, and controlled by no external authority save that of the Chancellor, (the representative of the Bishop of Lincoln at Oxford, and of Ely at Cambridge), and of the King. In foreign Universities the growth of the Faculties had limited the democratic nature of the earlier body: in England the Faculties never (for reasons already alluded to) attained to much importance.

The commencement of the earliest University was due to the collection round celebrated teachers or conventual schools of unorganised and undisciplined bodies of students. Gradually boarding houses sprang up around for the accommodation of new comers, and with increased numbers of scholars sprang up also new schools. Presently the grammatical were eclipsed by the higher studies of the Trivium and the Quadrivium, and with the Papal recognition of the new centre of learning as a 'Studium Generale' came the studies of Theology, of Medicine, of Civil and Canon Law, as well as the power of conferring the prized degrees.

With this public assent to its fitness the University grew rapidly: the piety of the Middle Ages endeavoured to render the use of its course available even to the poorest.

In the century between 1250 and 1350, the scheme of founding Colleges for the residence of poor students attained much popularity; and in the succeeding centuries received considerable development. University, Merton, Peterhouse, Balliol, and a number of other foundations whose names alone survive, were the result. In the time we have especially to consider (the 16th century), the Colleges had got the better of which period Cambridge was but barren of famous Confessors."—Cf. Fuller, *Hist. of Camb.*, p. 123. Under Henry VIII. the reverse fell out.

the University. Rich, able to attract the ablest scholars by their rewards, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge had seized the reins of power into their hands. The rights of all Masters of Arts to a share in the instruction and government of the University had been seized by the College authorities ; and the choice, even of the Proctors, the special officers of North and South, fell by rotation to these all-grasping bodies ; whose success may be traced partly to their resources, partly to their permanent interest in the University, and partly to the policy of the Tudors, who found them the readiest instruments wherewith to control Oxford and Cambridge. Their tendency, however, had hitherto been towards evil ; for while they brought order and quiet into the University they had exhibited symptoms of exclusiveness, and threatened, as subsequently was the case, to shut out the poor from the advantages of education, to offer too ready a welcome to the rich, and to numb by the standard of ease they fostered, the true spirit and love of research. A spirit of worldliness animated too many of the students, and led them to seek in Oxford and Cambridge, not knowledge but advancement, and employ the endowments of learning for the gratification of their ambition.

It was impossible, when the 16th century dawned, that the Universities should continue thus callous to the spirit of the times. The English nation outside the walls of the Colleges was full of active life ; its energies were seeking an outlet in commercial enterprise, and even in foreign discovery ; while the idle, useless baronage of the chivalrous age was now supplanted by the growth of families traditionally connected with industry. Nor were signs of life in the Universities wanting. At Oxford, Colet and More had appeared as the first champions of the Renaissance ; the great scholar Erasmus soon joined himself to them, and together they initiated the struggle with the ignorance and superstition around them. To assist and further their work sympathisers were not entirely wanting ; the fame of the Italian revival had attracted English students to the South ; towards the close of the preceding century, in Bologna or Florence, in Rome or Padua, at the feet of Politian and Demetrius, of Hermolaus Barbarus or Sulpitius Pomponius, Grocyn and Linacre,

Lilly and Latimer, had studied the literatures of Greece and Rome, and conversed with the first scholars of the age.

Yet the work of Reformation was still deferred for some years; the sloth of the Oxford monks was not easily to be cast out, and the efforts of a few scholars were alone unable to throw life into the mass of ignorant students.

Erasmus in 1499 returned to Paris; More, after taking his degree, went to London to study for the Bar; and Colet, though he bravely struggled on until his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's, felt himself the victim of ingratitude and opposition. Slight, however, as the progress of the new learning appeared, it was real. The cause of Scholasticism was bound up with the cause of Latin Christianity, and, in England in particular, with the cause of a powerful hierarchy. Whatever was inimical to the interests of the one was the same to those of the other; and this community of interest existed at an age when the pride of the hierarchy, the corruption of the lower clergy, and the superstitions of the church, were creating distaste in the most thoughtful minds. Discontent was growing up unconsciously against the existing condition of the Universities; "Somehow," says Bishop Fisher, "I know not how, there had stolen over well nigh all of us a weariness of study and learning." Of Oxford in 1508 Wood writes, "The schools were much frequented with quirks and sophistry; all things, whether taught or written, seemed either trite or inane; the Greek language was at a very low ebb, or in a manner forgotten; scholars were inconstant, or wavering, and could not apply themselves to an ordinary search in anything."

These were the last years of the undisputed sway of the old system in the two Universities, the last years of the trite studies, the subtle disputations, the uncritical credulity, the superstitious ignorance of the teachers, whose absurdities and intolerance have been handed down to us in the speaking satires of Erasmus. Better days were drawing on; religious and literary reform were alike imminent, and we may assign to the year 1510 the veritable commencement of the English

\* Cf. Ant. & Wood, *History of Oxford*, Vol. I., p. 665, ed. Gutch.

Reform of the Universities. In this year Erasmus settled down in Cambridge as Professor of Greek, giving preference to that University over Louvaine or the schools of Paris. Cambridge at this time, far more than its sister, Oxford, was open to the influences of such a man as Erasmus. Its Chancellor, Fisher, was an excellent prelate, conscious of the defects of the Church to which he belonged, well affected towards the new studies of classical authors, sorrowful, like Colet, for the decay of spiritual life amidst the clergy and University men, and alive to the absurdities of the opponents of the Renaissance. The timid policy of Arundel, which had prohibited all preaching without the license of a bishop, was now discarded; and the creation in 1503 by the Lady Margaret Tudor of lectureships for the encouragement of preaching marked an epoch in religious history, and promised to bring the University into closer connexion with the country.

The munificence of the same lady had founded the College of S. John's and of Christ's.

The positive results of the residence of Erasmus in Cambridge were disappointing to himself, and not at all remarkable. To combat with the stolid ignorance and intolerance of his foes was too unequal a task for the sensitive scholar, nor was his pecuniary reward such as he had hoped for; to crown all, a plague (no uncommon feature then of University life) broke out, and drove the Greek Professor to have recourse to flight. Disappointed as Erasmus had been in his hope of collecting round him in Cambridge such a band of eager students as had been wont to encircle Politian or Hermolaus Barbarus in Italian towns, his influence on the future of Cambridge had been indirectly incalculable. "Thirty years ago," wrote Erasmus<sup>1</sup> in later days, "nothing else was handled in Cambridge besides Alexander, the little Logicals (as they call them), and these old dictates of Aristotle and questions of Scotus." Antony Wood<sup>2</sup> also tells us that when Erasmus began to lecture on the grammar of Manuel Chrysoloras, "very few or none would bestow the pains to be his auditors," nor could any of these transcribe

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epistolæ Erasmi*, L. II., Ep. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. & Wood, *Hist. of Oxford*, Vol. L., under year 1498.



his Latin play of 'Icaromenippus,' "because of their ignorance in writing Latin." The presence of so great a student as Erasmus did not however fail of effect. "In process of time," continues Erasmus, in the above quoted letter, "there was an accession of good learning, the knowledge of Mathematics came in; a new and indeed a renewed Aristotle<sup>1</sup> came in; so many authors came in whose very names were anciently unknown."

The most important feature of Erasmus's connexion with Cambridge, was the influence he exercised over its attitude towards the Mediæval theology. It was during his residence at Cambridge<sup>1</sup>, he had made the pilgrimages to the shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose narrative in the colloquies affords us one of the liveliest pictures of the past. The exposure of the superstitions and contemptible knavery of the monastic orders by the biting pen of Erasmus, could not fail of effect upon some out of the body of the University; yet it was the publication of the *Novum Instrumentum*, which produced the greatest revolution.

To understand the full effect of that remarkable work it is necessary to recollect the disuse into which the Holy Scriptures had fallen. The sentences of Peter Lombard had in past years engrossed more attention than the books of the Bible from which they had originally been derived, and the perusal of Scotus and Aquinas, had been a more favourite study than the Gospels or Epistles. The text moreover, the Vulgate, was Latin, and its inaccuracies and deficient readings lent themselves to the assertions of Rome.

The peculiar bent of the minds of the Schoolmen had further tended to obscure the knowledge and lessen the study of the Scriptures; for while they had given in their adhesion to the doctrine of verbal inspiration, they fancied that the many sidedness of God must be inherent in His word, and so buried the meaning of each text beneath explanations, (to use their own verbiage), moral, allegorical and anagogical.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the great features of the age is the substitution of the Humanist (e.g. the Greek) Aristotle, for the corrupt Latin Aristotle of Mediæval times.

<sup>2</sup> *Colloquia Eras. Peregrinatio religionis ergo.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 253.

The Testament of Erasmus overthrew all these theories: by recurrence to the original Greek it dealt a blow at the prevalent belief that the Vulgate was the original text; in his bold and original Commentaries Erasmus superseded the fanciful explanations of the Middle Age Theologians by the principles of historical criticism. "Why is it," said he, "when men are toiling after the subtleties of Pythagoras, of Plato, of Aristotle, that none learn the philosophy of Christ. Let all read the Gospels. To understand thoroughly the Bible you require reverence and extensive knowledge; Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and if possible Dialectics, rhetoric, music, a knowledge of natural objects."

"I could wish," he continues, "even all women to read the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish the husbandmen may sing parts of them at his plough, that the weaver may chant them when engaged at his shuttle." . . . Such words were not likely to be uttered in vain, for they accorded well with the understandings of many in Cambridge, or rather in Western Europe. The *Novum Instrumentum*, although given to the world from Fröben's press at Basel, had been prepared during the term of Erasmus's professorship at Cambridge; and may have owed something to the assistance of Cambridge scholars. One thing is certain, that its publication produced a great religious movement there; a movement destined to exercise influence far beyond the walls of the University, and to spread throughout England.

It is about this time we first trace the beginnings in Cambridge of a reforming party. The founders and leaders of the little band of students who desired the study of the Bible rather than the pursuit of the Latin divines, were Bilney of Trinity Hall, and Barnes: Bilney<sup>1</sup> a convert to the *Novum Instrumentum*, and Barnes Prior of an Augustinian House on the outskirts of Cambridge. We should err did we suppose these men desired separation from the Roman Church; their hopes were rather for Reform, their rebellion against the Vulgate and the corruption of the clergy, and not against the Papal authority or the hierarchical system. Like Luther during these years at Wittenberg, they were engaged on an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bass-Mullinger, *Hist. of Cambridge*, until 1535.

enquiry which must inevitably lead them to open war with Rome, but whose ultimate results were for the time obscured by the all absorbing interest of the question for the spiritual life of the individual.

Cambridge was particularly open to the influences of Reform, for its members chiefly came from the Eastern counties, which were at the same time through the wool trade the districts in closest connexion with the Continent and the most prosperous of all England.

The Reformers gradually grew in influence, contriving to attract the more thoughtful and earnest minds by their example of religious sincerity. Their meetings were naturally of a private nature and for security were held in an unfrequented inn generally known as the White Horse,<sup>1</sup> but which gained the name of Germany, from its being the resort of the adherents of the 'German opinions' as those of Reform were now styled.

The progress of the movement up to a certain point met with little real repression on the part of the government. Fisher, we know, although with coming years he grew more and more opposed to change and clung firmer to the past, was not at once alive to the real importance of the teachings of the Bible on the existing theories of religious life and organisation; while Wolsey, in the pursuit of his own plans for the revival of the English Church, was rather inclined towards toleration. It was perhaps from such a motive, as well as from a desire to weaken their influence, that he transplanted Bilney, Clarke, Taverner<sup>1</sup> and others of the Cambridge religionists, to his new foundation of Cardinal's College in 1526. Oxford.<sup>m</sup> Wolsey, however, had no intention of tolerating open rebellion against the authority of the Church, and in 1521, the three<sup>n</sup> treatises published by Luther in the former

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bass-Mullinger, *Hist. of Univ. Cantab.*

<sup>m</sup> The story of the Oxford 'Lutheran' movement is admirably told in Froude's *History of England*, Vol. II., p. 45 et seq. Cranmer was amongst the Cambridge men selected, but he refused to go.—Cf. *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, Vol. I., p. 4, Ed. 1841.

<sup>n</sup> "Address to the Nobles of Germany," "De Captivitate Babylonica," "Von der Freiheit der Christen menschen."

year were publicly burnt in London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

1526-7.

Oxford, hitherto, had stood aloof from the influence of the reform teachings; but now the presence of the Cambridge students was immediately felt. The anger and vexation of Wolsey at the failure of his scheme was great, and he treated so severely the detected Reformers that the cause, as far as Oxford was concerned, perished with the overthrow and expulsion of Bilney and his friends. At Cambridge, in the meantime, the attention of the University and of Wolsey had been caught by a rash sermon of Barnes's<sup>o</sup> from the University pulpit at Christmas tide, 1525. In unmeasured language he had attacked the pride of the clergy, the abuses of their courts, the superstitious observance of holidays, and the general corruption.<sup>p</sup> The clergy he asserted to be the followers of Judas and not Christ, the bishops of the false prophet Balaam, and denied that any prayers were acceptable to God, save "those fetched from the fire of the altar." To pass over such an attack would have been impossible, and Barnes was summoned before the Cardinal, and after a prolonged trial compelled to recant.

From this time until the fall of Wolsey and the diversion of interest to the questions of Henry's divorce and the separation from Rome, the hand of authority fell with weight on the Cambridge Lutherans. The sympathies of the King were opposed to the views of Luther, and his pride offended by Luther's boisterous reply to his literary attempt to defend the Seven Sacraments: the fears of men of Conservative natures, such as Fisher and Moor, were aroused, as well as the self-interests and wrath of less worthy people stirred, by the progress and nature of the religious conflict. Charges of heresy, search for heretical works, arrests of suspected persons, became more numerous, and in 1529 the Archbishop

<sup>o</sup> Cf. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, under year 1525.

<sup>p</sup> A passage in this sermon seems to point to an increasing severity towards Reformers:—"There be certain men conditioned to dogges, if there be any man that is not their countrymen, or that they love not, or know not, or say anything against them, then cry they, '*an heretic, an heretic, ad ignem, ad ignem.*'"

of Canterbury demanded a visitation of the University of Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> to detect and suppress heresy. Providence, however, protected the cause of dissent; Wolsey refused to yield to the Archbishop's request, a refusal which was reproduced amongst the articles of accusation at his trial as evidence of his favour towards heretics. Nor did the fall of Wolsey leave the Reformers friendless,<sup>2</sup> for their position towards Rome made them the natural allies of Henry in the matter of the divorce. The leaven of reform too, was spread-  
1528.  
ing through the nation, especially through the middle class; and the translation of the Bible by a Cambridge graduate, Tyndal, was for the mass of the people what the publication of the *Novum Instrumentum* had been for the learned minority of the University; an uninterrupted vision of those first principles with which all religious conceptions and practice must conform if they are to be held true.

The educational life both of Oxford and Cambridge undoubtedly acquired new vigour with the growth of the new religious opinions. The explanation of this growth seems to lie in the importance for religious purposes, which all the champions of classical, or church progress, attached to knowledge. The war which Colet and More, which Crocus and Erasmus, waged with the Thomists and Scotists<sup>3</sup>, was a war with the grossest ignorance, and that ignorance closely connected with a religious system. As a consequence, the agitators for reform made the acquisition of knowledge almost a religious duty. We have already the opinion of Erasmus on the matter: his colleagues were no less emphatic. To understand the Holy Scriptures the reader should be richly stored with human knowledge; in proportion with his learning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. II., under 1529.

<sup>2</sup> This friendliness of Henry VIII. first becomes obvious during the contest between Latimer and some of the Fellows of St. John's, after the celebrated Card Sermon of Christmas, 1529. Fisher then, at the instance of the Court, silenced the advocates of the old system. Cf. Lamb's *Letters and Documents of C.C.C., Camb.*, under 1529.

<sup>3</sup> This is Colet's opinion of the Scotists:—"Aiebat Scotistas sibi videri stupidos et hebetes, et quidvis quam ingeniosos: nam argutari circa alienas sententias ac verba, nunc hoc arrodere, nunc illud, et omnia minutatim dissecare, ingenium esse sterile et inopis." Cf. *Epist. Erasmi ad Jodocum Jonam*, Ed. Basel, p. 176.

would be his power of comprehending and appreciating the sacred truths. Such sentiments gave an impulse to classical studies in England, which they might otherwise have failed to receive : for the religious question was the one which really appealed to the sympathies of the nation, and all that promised to aid its solution was certain of a hearing and trial. The actual influence of the pure literary movement was not felt in great strength either in the Universities or in the country at large, and in all probability would have wholly failed, alone, to overthrow the strenuous opposition it would have had to encounter.

But joined to the religious question, the studies of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, attracted much attention alike from the Lutheran party and the greatest persons of the liberal Catholics, such as Fisher, Foxe, and Wolsey ; and under the effort and guidance of men like Grocyn, Linacre, and Crocus (the successor of Erasmus as Professor of Greek), the work of introducing sound classical learning proceeded apace. The erection, in the same year, of Colet's school in the precinct of the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the foundation of Bishop Foxe's College of Corpus Christi in Oxford, seem to mark the putting into practice of the theories of the time. The rules drawn up by Colet<sup>†</sup> for the school express his opinions clearly. "The corrupt Latin," he writes, "which ignorant fools brought into the world . . . should be utterly excluded and banished." He would have his children taught both Greek and Latin ; while, in the place of the arid works of Donatus, Priscian, or Villa Dei, he ordered that the boys should learn and read good Latin and Greek authors, and note how they wrote and spoke, "because Latin and Greek speech were before rules."

1516.

Corpus Christi  
College,  
Oxford.

The foundation of Bishop Fox in Oxford of a College for the especial study of classics, had an extraordinary importance at the time as an indication of the state of feeling in high quarters towards the new studies ; the more so that it came at a moment when the contest of the rival parties threatened to be a very unequal one. Nor, to the historical student, is the story connected with the foundation of the College of less interest, since it indicates an early suspicion of that great step

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Constitution of St. Paul's School, in Knight's *Life of Colet*.

towards reform, the dissolution of the monasteries. It is related that Fox first contemplated the erection of a monastery, but was dissuaded from his purpose by the advice of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter.\*

In the statutes drawn up for the new College there is much of interest. In the quaint speech of the age, the College is compared to a garden with "three right skilful herbalists," the Professors of Greek, of Latin, and of Divinity. Of the Greek lecturer we notice that he has expressly been placed in the College by Foxe, "because the Holy Canons have established and commanded most suitably for good letters and Christian literature; that such an one should never be wanting in Oxford." The reason for the introduction of this phrase will appear later.

The Divinity lecturer was charged to read lectures on the Scriptures, and in his interpretations was always to follow the ancient Latin and Greek doctors, as Ambrose, or Jerome, or Austin, but to avoid all those "who as in time, so in learning, are far below them."

The purport of these regulations was sufficiently clear, and their nature sufficiently adverse to the cause of the Schoolmen, to arouse at once a storm. The opposition to Greek teaching had hitherto been based on its supposed illegality in the eyes of the Church. And now the Bishop of Winchester called in the Canons to justify his step: the slight to the Schoolmen in the directions to the lecturer in Divinity were yet more galling, and gave the gravest offence. The struggle that went on during the next year or two would seem ludicrous had it not been so fierce and uncompromising in nature. The adherents of the old learning styled themselves Trojans, and called their adversaries the Greeks. A letter of Sir T. More, the Chancellor of

\* Cf. Statutes of C.C.C., Oxon. Oldham's words were as follow:—"What my Lord, shall we build an house and provide livelihoods for a company of monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see. No, no, it is more meet that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good in the church and commonwealth."

This has reference to Bull of Clement V., in 1311, that Greek should be taught in Salamanca, Oxford, Paris, and Bologna.

1518.

Oxford, whose object was to allay the strife, throws some light on the mode of warfare.\* "I heard lately in London," says More, "that certain scholars of your Academy had formed a Society, the Trojans, (calling its members by the name of the Teuceri,) in opposition to the Greeks. Further, when he had come to Abingdon with the King, he heard that these Trojans had not only brayed in public assemblies against Greek and Latin letters, but very freely, also, against all liberal arts. For a Trojan in Lent had preached against the new studies, taking as his text "*quædam anilia proverbialia*." "What a degradation of an holy office," exclaims More, "when a man in Lent, and clothed with University distinctions, raves against all letters entirely. To say letters do not conduce to salvation is off the point; no letters do; a mother can do more. But men come to Oxonia to learn other things before they study Theology; Law, Human Experience, whose richest veins lie hidden in the Classics. There are some who make secular learning a path to the understanding of Theology; and how can you read Divinity without knowledge of Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, unless you confine Theology to the limit of English writers. But in very truth I strenuously oppose the coercion of that queen of heaven, Theology, amidst these narrow limits." Theology, he proceeds, is the study of the Latin and Greek fathers. Yet he is foolish to plead the matter as a patron of Greek, for Greece is as foremost in all else as in Theology; the New Testament is in Greek, and every book loses by translation.

The words of More ought to have carried great weight Oxford, since he was known to be an ardent supporter of the old beliefs; as yet, however, the imminent peril of the situation was unrevealed to the Trojans, and they saw in More the man who had first helped to introduce Greek studies into Oxford, and whose bright, sunny thoughts, and character, jarred with the bias of their own distempered minds.

1520.

The interference of a prelate whose power throughout

\* Epist. Thomæ Mori ad Acad. Oxon, printed in an old black letter edition of his works.



England was disputed by none, awed into silence these discontented cavillers: the foundation in 1520, by Thomas Wolsey, of professional lectures in Greek; hushed all unworthy strife, and made the future of the classical revival no longer doubtful.

Wolsey's following up of this step by the commencement 1523. of the princely foundation of Cardinal's College, is a matter of such interest as to demand our attention. The custom of erecting magnificent colleges was no new one; in Cambridge, the munificence of Henry VI. had raised the splendid pile of Kings, and in the first years of the present century, Margaret Tudor, Countess of Richmond, had founded the colleges of Christ and of St. John. These, however, were due to the influence of the Mediæval idea of the benefit resulting to the benefactor from his good works in a future state: the college of Wolsey owed its rise to wider and more commendable reasons.

Allusion has already been made to Wolsey's schemes\* for the safety of the Church amidst the dangers which surrounded it; he was conscious of the hatred borne towards it by the nation, of the dissolute life of the monastic orders, of the real power of such men as Latimer to attract the minds of the people, of the danger if the Humanist movement became inseparably coupled with the movement in religion. The outline of his scheme was to bring all education, and so all the Reformers, under the influence of the Church, to increase the Episcopate, and extend the work of the clergy. To carry out such a step he had need of large funds and slight opposition; the monastic bodies were the sources from whence he hoped to derive the former, and the latter would be insured by the destruction of those strongholds of ignorance. It was a bold, and with Henry VIII. on the throne, proved a dangerous step, for the cardinal thus to go in for dissolution; yet no one can dispute the right of his conduct, if he considers the corruption of the clerical houses and their ruinous neglect of their once most honourable duty, the task of teaching. The dissolution of the Abbey of S. Frideswide, and other founda- 1523.

\* An interesting account of Wolsey's scheme is given in J. J. Blunt's "Reformation of the Church of England."

tions, gave sufficient funds for the erection of Cardinal's College. Thither were to be collected all the foremost men of the age: from the schools of which Wolsey planned the foundation in various parts of England, were to flow streams of picked youth continuously towards Oxford and Cardinal's College; three-fourths of the number of the first students were selected from the *élite* of Oxford, and Cambridge as we have already seen was laid under contribution; while from the Continent Wolsey summoned the Greek Calphurnius, the German mathematician Cratzer, and other learned men, to augment the staff of his teachers. Nor were Wolsey's schemes limited by restriction to Oxford: the foundation of a College of Physicians in London, and a scheme for an University of Canon and Civil Law give them a wider significance.

The scheme failed,<sup>a</sup> as many other wide reaching plans have done; the sense of independence and divergence from the Mediæval faith alone would have ensured failure, even if other causes had not intervened; as it was, the discovery of the religious influence of Bilney and Clarke must early have taught Wolsey the greatness of the obstacles in his path.

Whatever the failure of the scheme of the Cardinal, its partial execution, and the favour he had manifested towards classical learning, had been of great effect. With his fall, indeed, fell likewise the fortunes of either University, and the story of the later years presents a melancholy spectacle of the decline of letters, of the fickle fortunes of religious parties rising and falling with the favour of the monarch, of energies diverted from the advance of learning to religious controversy,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Statutes of Cardinal's College, Ed. Oxon. Of Wolsey's schools it is said, "Quæ veluti fontes quidam, selectissima quæque, et optimæ indolis ingenia huic nostro collegio successivis temporibus subministrant."

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Blunt, English Reformation.

<sup>a</sup> The nature of Wolsey's scheme is shown in Bishop Longland's explanation of it to Queen Catherine:—"He showed her what great good would come of the same, as well to the conservation of Christ's faith as to the realm; where all good learning and letters should be, where resort should be out of all Christendom for learning and virtue; and showed her likewise the notable lectures, and how the students should be limited to the same, and likewise in the *exposition of the Bible*."—Cf. Blunt.

and of unprincipled despoliation of the endowments of learning.

The immediate cause of Wolsey's disgrace was, as is well known, the question of Henry's first divorce. The question provoked the liveliest discussions in the Universities, and the matter of the king's difficulty with respect to the possible illegality of his union with Catherine was submitted to both Universities in 1529. Question of Henry's divorce.

The majority of divines was adverse in Cambridge to the king's success; and in Oxford, <sup>a</sup> Wood tells us, the University long held back, chiefly through the action of the younger masters.<sup>b</sup> A message arrived from Henry himself "that it was best not to irritate hornets;" yet it was not until three separate envoys had arrived from Henry, and not until the Artists had been excluded from the deliberation, that a tardy sentence was given in favour of the King.

At Cambridge, the party of the Reformers joyfully acceded to the proposition, and we find Latimer sheltering himself under the royal protection, and praised openly by Henry in the presence of the then Vice-Chancellor of the University.<sup>c</sup> Yet the opposition was even more strenuous than in Oxford,<sup>d</sup> and the ultimate assent of the scholastic body was due rather to persuasion and threats than to liking for the matter.

It is from the date of the contest between Henry and Rome in reference to the divorce that we trace the decline, during the greater part of these Reformation Years, of the Universities.

The rejection of the Papal authority threw education into new hands and gave it a secular and not a spiritual head; the dissolution of the monasteries deprived the Universities of many of the sources of their former subsistence, and brought the Colleges into unnatural and unequal importance; while the transfer of the ecclesiastical supremacy

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Ant. & Wood, *Annals*, under 1529.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Lamb's *Letters and Documents*. Letter of the Vice Chancellor Buckmaster to Dr. Vicar, p. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Yet in their consent, it was put as a condition that the Pope should grant a dispensation. Had Cranmer been there, says Strype, he would have counselled otherwise.—Cf. Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, p. 5, Vol. I.

to the King, as it inevitably rendered him all powerful over the academic bodies, brought them into closer contact with the court and the world, and rendered courtly favour a surer step to advance in the Universities than toil or honest devotion to study.

For the power of the throne, which had grown and was growing more despotic, now began to make itself very perceptible in the internal affairs of the two Universities. Wolsey, in the plenitude of his legatine authority, had prepared the way for the royal interference; in 1518 he had received from the authorities of Oxford all the Liberties, Privileges and Statutes to put into order and correct at his own free will. When the great Cardinal had fallen and Henry become independent of the Church, the King readily availed himself of the precedent of his former favourite and determined on ordering the Universities according to his own taste.

The Royal Injunctions.

In 1535 he issued the 'Injunctions,' and sent a commission to investigate the state of both bodies.

The articles of the Commission must have been somewhat startling to the minds of the orthodox graduates; in the first clause they were enjoined to swear to the King's succession, to reverence and obey his ecclesiastical supremacy, and to resist all its enemies; in another they found provision for two public lectures daily in Greek and Latin; in others the study of the Canon Law, or the Sentences, were forbidden, while that of the Bible was allowed; and in the last,\* the students in Arts were emancipated from the tedious text books of Mediæval writers.

Visitation of the Universities.

Nor was the Commission when it came less astounding; it laid its ruthless hands on the works of the Schoolmen Duns Scotus was jocularly said to have been lodged in the prison 'Bocardo,' and pages of dishonoured authors strewed the great quadrangle of New College; the morality of the

\* "Let Artists be instructed in the elements of logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, music, philosophy, and read Aristotle, Rudolph Agricola, and Melancthon and Trapezuntius, and not the frivolous questions of Scotus."—Cf. Injunctions as printed in Bass-Mullinger, *Hist. of Cambridge*.

Students was closely inspected. The cause of all this excitement was the step taken by Henry VIII. in the previous year to cast off submission to Rome. Cambridge and Oxford had both been asked to judge whether the Roman bishop had scripturally, any greater influence in England than any other foreign prelate; their constrained answer had been in the negative. Forthwith, under the guidance of Cromwell, was commenced the final dissolution of the monasteries; the Oxford investigation was but an introductory process. From this date all pretence of independence on the part of the Universities perished, they lay for the future unprotected at the feet of absolute monarchs: so long as the connexion with Rome survived, they had had an external, if often spurned, support, but now they entirely hung on the royal favour.

The times were not such as to make this dependence anything than exceedingly harassing. The precedent of the Monastic dissolution had thrown down the barriers of reverence which protect the monuments of past piety, and the spoils then won sharpened the appetite of the courtiers for further confiscations. Henry, devoid of conscience though he often proved himself, was too clearly alive to the good of Universities to readily consent to their ruin; yet the ultimate fate of those bodies seemed to hang on the slender thread of the King's life.

At this crisis of the political and religious history of the English Universities, it seems almost impossible to avoid glancing at the social revolution amongst their members, which closely followed on the heels of Henry's ecclesiastical policy.

In their first origin the Universities were, more than any thing else, great grammar schools for boys,<sup>1</sup> and those chiefly of the lowest rank,—as seems clear from the well known lines of the “Canterbury Tales,” or from the complaints of the author of “Piers Plowman.”

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* The description of the Clerk of Oxenford in the *Canterbury Tales*; also the mention of the Cambridge Scholars in the *Reeve's Tale*, which we may suppose is meant to be typical:—

“Then were there youngs poor scholars two.”

In their earliest days the Universities were no places of resort for the noble, whose interests were martial rather than scholastic: to the Mediæval baron learning was a thing, if not of reproach at least outside his requirements, and its peculiar relation to the Church naturally connected it with the office of the clergy. The Mediæval Church was recruited from the lowest ranks of the people; the serf found in it freedom and the road to preeminent authority, while its efforts in the work of education were expended on the improvement of the poor and not of the rich. In the cathedral and monastic schools the children of the peasant, in the University those of the yeoman, received the rudiments of knowledge without expense or hindrance, and were thence admitted, if such their desire, into the sacred offices of the ministry. So deep rooted was the idea of poverty as a feature of the Universities, that gifts to students were held to be the rightful tribute of the husbandman; while a recognition of the claims of the serfs to education may be found in the iniquitous enactment of 1406, an enactment which, though it desired to check the liberty of the peasants in their choice of occupation or residence, granted to every man and woman, of whatsoever estate, liberty "to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realms."

As time passed the possession of this monopoly of the schools was disputed. With the rise of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, with the growth and greater fame of the Universities and their Colleges, the poor students found themselves the rivals of monks and friars and often forced to fight a losing battle.

Yet, as a whole, the character of the Universities varied little socially during the centuries previous to the Reformation. If change there was, it was to a more pronounced clerical character, and not to an higher social standard.

Until the reign of Elizabeth it was unusual for the mass of the upper classes to frequent in their youth the Universities. It was more customary to seek education in the household of some great noble or prelate, such as Wolsey, and to acquire the manners and air of a courtier rather than the more

solid fruits of learning. So late as Edward VI.'s reign we are told that many peers were unable to read, and an anecdote related in a letter of Pace's seems to confirm all the statements of the aristocratic contempt for education.\* Neither does the testimony of Ascham point to any other conclusion: "It is in yourselves ye noblemen's sons of England," he says in his Scholemaster, "the fault, and therefore deserve ye the greater blame, that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest councillors." A change, however, had begun actually to make itself felt among the English gentry with respect to learning. It was impossible that any class should long remain free from the passion for knowledge, which had grown up in England; nor was the nobility of Henry VIII., or his children, akin in anything to that of the preceding century. The chivalrous, warlike families of an earlier age, <sup>The growth of a new nobility</sup> contemptuous of peaceful or useful pursuits, had been supplanted by the growth of a more modern ruling class; who, owing their advancement chiefly to the intellectual and commercial spirit of their age, were more open to the influence of culture and less dazzled by illusive dreams of glory. Among the courtiers and statesmen of Henry VIII. and his children were to be found men fully alive to the benefit of culture, and conscious that, amidst the political complications of their time, a trained intellect was of more avail than a knowledge of arms or the laws of courtesy. As a consequence, it became more usual for young men of birth to undergo the process of University training; and, in time, that training grew to be an acknowledged element in the education of the upper classes, and more and more ceased to be connected with the improvement and advance of the lower orders.

The Church, under the supremacy of the sovereign of <sup>Divorce of Church from Politics.</sup> England, lost its old democratic nature; it no longer extended a shelter and hope of advance to the peasant, nor could the

\* Pace sat next a country squire one day at dinner, who spoke as follows:—"Abeant in malam rem istae stultae literae, omnes docti sunt mendici, . . . decet generosorum filios apte inflare cornu, perite venari, accipitrem pulchre gestare et educere. *Studia vero literarum rusticorum filiis sunt relinquenda.*"—Cf. Pace's letter to Colet, prefixed to his 'De Fructu,' quoted by Mr. Farnivall in 'Early English Education.'

friendless man find in it any longer those openings to temporal authority and advance so frequent in earlier times.

The separation of the executive of Church and State, the transference of political administration from the clergy to a new race of secular statesmen, precluded the possibility of England seeing its fortunes swayed again by another Wolsey, whilst it limited the ambition of a needy aspirant to scanty religious preferment. Chances of success in a political career, unaided by the claims of sacerdotal dignity or the support of church revenues, were under the new *régime* so small, that none could longer hope, save under the guidance and protection of some man of authority, to venture alone on so hazardous a course.

The growth of grammar schools throughout England doubtless, under these novel circumstances, helped to check the flow of students of the old type to the Universities. Without further hopes of a brilliant career for his son the yeoman, or even the gentleman of small means, was content to send his sons to the nearest grammar school,<sup>n</sup> and to rest satisfied with no further instruction. The change was gradual, yet during the reign of Elizabeth there are sufficient evidences of the preponderance of the wealthier classes amongst undergraduates. The attitude of the Colleges helped on the revolution; fearful for their revenues in the troubled years of the Reformation, they sought to cultivate the friendship of the powerful; dazzled by the splendour of courtiers, with

<sup>n</sup> *Schools.*—During the last 30 years before the Reformation there were more grammar schools founded than had been established in England for more than 300 years. The Cathedral schools of Henry VIII. were founded to bring up children in learning, to nurture clergy, to support readers of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. The 18 grammar schools of Edward VI. are, it must be remembered, only re-applications to purposes of teaching of the funds of the suppressed Charities, which had often kept schools and supported *poor students* at Oxford or Cambridge. That these schools did much for the general education of the country, is indisputable, and as regards national teaching, usurped the previous place of the Universities. Their teaching was almost entirely confined to the study of the Classics; and it was due to this (a provision originally intended only for the benefit of the Universities) that the grammar schools became in their turn exclusive, and that the lowest classes had to go without organised instruction.



whom the Universities were now in closer relation, they were eager to fill their societies with the wealthy and well born, regardless of the purport of their statutes. They had already triumphed over the Professorial body and the Faculties; yet now they were unwilling to fulfil the duties they had usurped, since greater profit and good was to be gained by devotion to the tuition of the great. Fellowships that had been intended for the support of students, while pursuing actively their course in the higher Faculties, were now perverted from their rightful purpose. Luxury and extravagance went hand in hand with the degradation of culture and morality, and the work of Erasmus and More, of Colet and Linacre, of Fox or of Wolsey, was undone to gratify the greedy servility of College Tutors, and the licentious sloth of the wealthy.

"The Colleges," it was indignantly protested, "were created by their founders first onlie for poor men's sons, . . . but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so increase on them. It is a hard matter for a poor man to get a fellowship; such packing is also used at elections, that he that hath the most friends, though he be the worst scholar, is alwaies surest to speed."<sup>1</sup>

Nor was other testimony wanting to the evil results of the contact of the upper classes with Oxford and Cambridge. One of the changes, effected by the rupture with the Pope, was the transfer of the office of the Chancellor into lay hands; a change which gave that office usually to some prominent courtier, and divorced it from its primitive clerical character.

The reproofs then of Burleigh and Leicester to the bodies of which they were the respective Chancellors, cannot but be esteemed of great weight.

"I am informed," writes Burleigh to Cambridge,<sup>2</sup> . . . that thorowe the greate stipendes of the tutors and the little paines they doe take in the instructing and well-governing of their pupils, not only the poorer sort are not able to maintain their children at the Universitie; and the riche are so corrupte with libertie and remissness, so that the tutor is more

The Royal  
Chancellor.

Testimony of  
Burleigh  
against Cam-  
bridge.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, L. I., Cap. xiii., p. 148-50, Ed. 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Documents Illustrative of Puritan Movement in Cambridge between 1580-1660*.

afraid to displease his pupils through the desire of great gain, the which he hath by his tutoring, than the pupil is of his tutor."

Leicester's rebukes.

The rebukes of Leicester are directed towards even more unpleasant shortcomings: "In your life and conversation are these things noted, excesse in apparel . . . like unto or rather exceeding both Inns of Court men and Courtiers, the haunting of the Towne, that the streets are every day and all day long more full of Schollers than townsmen. That ordinary Tables and Ale Houses, growen to a great number are not so many as they be full fraight all daye and much of the nighte, with Schollers tippling, dicing, carding, tabling, and I will not saie worse occupied." There are no lectures or disputations, the students learn nothing but drunkenness and street jests, and return to their homes more ignorant than they came; the discipline of the University was so relaxed as to be useless.

The inner nature of our Universities received in this period of the Reformation an entirely new character, and one which has retained its hold through subsequent years, even to the present century. An University education throughout the 17th and 18th, and even the first half of this century, was esteemed desirable only for two classes of men: those who purposed taking orders, or those whose worldly position was so fortunate that they could be in need of no better employment than the pursuit of letters. A degree was valued as an emblem of worldly position, and residence in either University esteemed useful, more as a step upwards on the social ladder, than for any taste for knowledge which might be possibly fostered in them. The life of the student was forsaken for the pursuits of a gentleman; the scholar or the chamberdekyn<sup>1</sup> sank into insignificance before the wealth of the Commoner, while the intellectual vigour and resources of either body lay smothered for more than a couple of hundred years beneath the oppressive weight of aristocratic patronage.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ant. & Wood, *Hist. Oxon.* Vol. II., p. 215, Ed. Gutch.

<sup>2</sup> A Chamberdekyn was the old soubriquet for our modern "Unattached Student;" in Paris he was named, a "Martinet."

<sup>3</sup> For illustration of this aristocratic predominance in the English

The commission of enquiry of 1535 marks the close of the literary character of the Reform movement in England, and the triumph of the cause of Erasmus and the Humanists over the older scholastic traditions. Later History  
from 1535-60.

With a short relapse during the reign of Mary, the academic bodies of Oxford and Cambridge adhered for the future to the then introduced classical studies. The best of the Greek writers were studied in their native languages and no longer in Latin translations. "Aristotle and Plato," says Ascham, "are read by boys in the original, and have been new for more than 40 years. Plato and Aristotle are now more familiar here than Plautus was in your time. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, are more often on the lips and in the hands of all than Livy was then."

Five years later we find an ordinance for all persons in the University of Cambridge to learn Greek. The old text books of former years were thrown aside; Donatus and Priscian were as much neglected as the Sentences or the Vulgate, and the treasured wisdom of Scotus and his fellows no longer provoked the research and labours of the studious.

All interest was concentrated on the perusal of the new classics. The works of Antiquity, so lately recovered from the oblivion of centuries, had the charm in those years of freshness and entire novelty; while the difference between Greek conceptions and those of Latin Christianity, aroused the keenest interest amongst the more intelligent.

The annals of either University present for this reason, accounts of an internal condition of affairs, the reverse of flourishing.\* "The schools of Cambridge," we are told, "were never more deserted than now . . . for every master who reads there is scarce left an auditor for him." Private study of the classics attracted many away from the course of

Universities after the Reformation instances are to be found in the Statutes of Elizabeth to Cambridge, given in Lamb's Charters and Documents of C.C.C. Also there are clear traces in Sir Simon d'Ewes Memoir of his Cambridge career. Huber and Von Meiner equally draw attention to this subject.

\* Cf. Epist. Rog. Ascham, No. 74.

• Ant. à Wood, Vol. II., p. 75. "In 1546 there were but ten proce-  
eders in Arts, three in Divinity and Law,"

Closing years  
of Henry VIII.

the University with its fixed books and disputations, so that in the reign of Elizabeth it was stated that the two Universities were insufficient to supply all the cures in England. The last years of the reign of Henry VIII. were not indeed, as we have already pointed out, suitable for the welfare of learning. The ever impending fear, lest the avarice of the courtiers should triumph over the good will of the sovereign, filled the academicians with dread for the endowments of the Colleges. "On the fall of the Abbeys," says Fuller, "fell the hearts of all scholars;" no College, either in Oxford or Cambridge, could boast of any scholars save only those on the Foundation. To remedy the evil in one University at least, Henry founded the splendid College of the Trinity, as well as a variety of chairs for professors of Law, Greek and Hebrew. Yet the evil was too deep seated to be thus cured. The certainty of a Regency, the uncertainty of the religious creed of the next monarch, or his advisers; the distaste for the old, the absence of a new Theological system; the already mentioned tendency towards isolated pursuit of the Classics; the engrossing cares of the religious disputes of the day, all were adverse to the fortunes of the Universities. Complete peace in external affairs are necessary to the well being of such bodies; nor are they capable of resisting the storms of revolutionary epochs, unless, as in rare instances, their spirit and their teaching be consonant with the temper of the times. But although the home of the first Reformers had been in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, though Bilney and Latimer, Clarke and his fellows in Cardinal's College had been University men, the temper of both bodies was decidedly favourable to the older creed. The majority of the nation, and with it the majority of the Universities, were discontent only with the worldly abuses of the Roman system, and beheld with dislike the usurpations of Henry and Cromwell. It was only among the ministers of the crown and the courtiers, among the most advanced thinkers or the more intelligent middle class, that the new ecclesiastical policy met with approval.

In the Universities (and in Oxford in particular) the Catholic reaction, consequent on the fall of Cromwell, met

with the warmest encouragement, and under the eye of such a man as Gardiner, the advocates of Reformation met with slight encouragement. Yet the Universities, while in opposition to a movement certainly progressive in its influence, were divorced from the studies that had connected them by the closest ties with the faith they still advocated, and stood irresolutely in the midst, anxious to lend assistance to their ancient ally, but almost compelled by the nature of their reformed studies to further the cause of a religious party they disliked.

The accession of Edward VI. did not tend to restore the general prosperity of learning. The decided friendship of Protector Somerset for the Reformers aroused intense opposition. Wood says that many Colleges and Halls were almost left empty, since their inmates refused to accept the new creed. Yet the position of the new government was in no ways hostile; nor was Somerset anything but a friend towards learning.<sup>p</sup> "If learning," he is reported to have said, "decay, which maketh of wild men civil, of obstinate rebels obedient subjects, and of evil men good and godly Christians, what shall we look for else but barbarism and tumult."

Yet the actual wealth of the Universities, apart from the College revenues, was extremely insignificant; the amount as stated by the Dean of Christ Church was scant £25<sup>q</sup> a year, and more prosperous Cambridge had scarcely £50.<sup>r</sup> The suppression of the charities, the seizure by the Crown of obits, the taking in hand of the Colleges towards the close of the reign of Edward's father, had concurred to impoverish the finances of both bodies. The picture drawn in the famous sermon of Lever, at the Shronds, in St. Paul's churchyard, 1547, throws a vivid light on the evils of the time. "Formerly," he said to the courtiers, "before that you did begin to be the disposers of the king's liberality towards learning and poverty, there was in houses belonging to the University of Cambridge 200 students of Divinity, many very well learned." All these

<sup>p</sup> Ant. & Wood, *Annals of Oxford*, Vol. II., p. 64-9.

<sup>q</sup> Ant. & Wood, Vol. II., p. 82.

<sup>r</sup> Cf. Cooper's *Chronicles of Cambridge*; also quoted in Ant. & Wood, Vol. II., p. 84

it would appear had fled, as also a hundred of rich students, capable of hiring rooms in the hostels of the town; "and now," continued the preacher, "the small number of poor, godly, diligent scholars now remaining only in the Colleges, be not able to tarry and continue their studie for lack of exhibition and help. There be divers there who rise daily betwixt four and five o'clock in the morning, and from five until six of the clock use common prayer . . . and from six unto ten o'clock use ever either private study or common lectures." Their frugal dinner was at ten in the morning, and was composed of a "penny piece of beef among four, having a few porage made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal and nothing else." The remainder of the day until supper, which was eaten at five o'clock, was spent in teaching or study, and after that meal (one somewhat better than the former), we are told, the students disputed and solved problems until ten, when, being without fire, they were fain "to walk or run up and down half an hour to give an heat on their feet when they go to bed. These men be not weary of their pains, but very sorry to leave their study." So long a quotation may be perhaps excused for the light it throws on the sort of scholarly feeling the Renaissance created, the more that any such enthusiasm for learning would seem later to have perished.

In the review of these years it is altogether impossible, wholly to omit the relations of the Reformers with the Universities. Notice has been already paid to the spirit of Conservatism, which certainly animated the mass of graduates against religious change. The discourses of Cox or of Martyr at Oxford, of Bucer at Cambridge, were listened to with the greatest discontent; the restoration of Roman Catholicism certainly was achieved with no great amount of difficulty, and Oxford for many years later remained a hot-bed of Romanism and disaffection. Yet the great leaders of our Reformation were prominent members of either University. Cambridge claims Cranmer and Latimer amongst its roll of Protestants, and contributed the majority of the leaders of that party. In earlier days under Henry, the profession of heretical tenets, although reprobated, met with tender handling. Latimer, we

know, although he had offended many at Cambridge by his Card sermon, enjoyed the royal favour. Ascham relates of 1529. himself, that although he had made attacks on the old faith, he was permitted, through the beneficence of the then Warden Metcalfe, election to a fellowship at St. John's. The zeal of Edward may be charged with the commencement of the policy of religious persecution, rendered so hateful by the subsequent example of his sisters. The steps adopted by his councillors were more humane and less vigorous, though the same intolerance of toleration actuated either course.

The cause of Protestantism had suffered, it has already been shown, by the fall of Cromwell. The Pilgrimage of Grace had shown the strength of the Catholic party, and the popular nature of their cause; and Henry was too wise to incur any unnecessary risk through giving needless offence. The Statute of the Six Articles fell with greater weight on Protestant than Catholic, though obnoxious to either; nor could the presence of Cranmer make the position of the Reformers one of perfect security against the hatred of the Catholic leaders.

The elevation of Catherine Parr paved the way for that recognition of reformed doctrine which occurred in the reign of her step-son. Edward threw himself heart and soul into reform; and that, not after the Lutheran, but the Genevan pattern. He rested not before the introduction of new doctrines and practises into the Universities. Oxford was shocked on the point—to which an University of Mediæval foundation was most keenly sensitive,—of married clergy, by the presence within the walls of Wolsey's great foundation of canons with wives and families; while the more sensible felt the rash relaxation of discipline to be dangerous for the University, and an ill-timed concession to the scholars. The foreigners, Bucer and Martyr, were called to England to aid in the task. In 1549, before an hostile audience, Martyr attacked at Oxford the doctrine of transubstantiation, and any want of success he experienced was compensated for by the fervent support of the government. The religious excitement filled the Universities; many of the innovators held degrees to be sinful, and refused to perform their tasks. The

claims of knowledge waned before those of religion; the Vandalism of religious fervour destroyed much, of whose true value it was incompetent to judge; the colleges became little better than alms houses; men called the Universities the "Stables of Asses."<sup>1</sup> Learning drooped, the grammar schools decayed, parent refused to have their children taught further than to read and write; the precious contents of libraries were consumed. "I know a merchant," wrote Bayle, "that bought two noble libraries for forty shillings. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of gray paper by the space of more than ten years, and yet have store enough for many years to come." Although learning thus declined in its proper homes, the standard of knowledge throughout the country had greatly risen.

Elizabeth,<sup>2</sup> Ascham says, read more Greek in a day than most parsons read Latin in a week. Lady Jane Grey found her best solace in Plato; and Edward himself possessed, through the care of Cheke, a good knowledge of Greek and Latin.

The decay then of the Universities must be attributed to another cause than mere indifference to knowledge. The intellectual activity of the 16th century was great; but it was an activity which, in England at least, after the first enthusiasm of the earliest Humanists, devoted itself to political and religious rather than literary aims; while the disturbances consequent on religious and social revolution deprived either University, for centuries to come, of any real influence over the life of English people. The interest of the greatest epoch in the literary history of this country stands wholly aloof from any connexion with either of the English Universities. Their history is one of quiet monotony; of independence quenched by the necessity of Uniformity, of intellectual resources perverted by ease and servile ambition, of ceaseless, if not aimless, routine. That one sign of vigorous life, the struggles of Cartwright and his followers against the English hierarchy, and the growth of Puritan feeling within the walls of Cambridge, alone dissipate the

<sup>1</sup> Ant. & Wood; *Annals of Oxford*.

<sup>2</sup> Ascham, *Ed.*, *The Schoolmaster*.



dulness of the Elizabethan Universities, alone rescue their existence from a contemptible oblivion.

The government of Mary certainly left nothing undone to secure the re-establishment of the Mediæval Church; and in no places were its efforts more strenuously exercised than in Oxford and Cambridge. "The Cardinal Legate, Pole revised and renewed the Statutes of former years (to the <sup>1556-7.</sup> exclusion of those recently imposed by Edward VI.); a Commission swept the Colleges free of heretical taint, and restored to sanctity the desecrated churches and shrines; the desire was to restore the old learning," and abolish those <sup>1553.</sup> novel studies whose introduction had been so fatal to the orthodox cause. To the cause of learning the Catholic reaction was as inimical as the Protestant supremacy. "What chance was there for the University," asks Ascham, "when some of the greatest, if not the wisest men in the University, did labour to persuade that ignorance was better than knowledge; and therefore did some of them at Cambridge fetch out of the country to be made fellows . . . The love of true learning waxed cold, the knowledge of tongues was manifestly contemned."

To this last effort to achieve the impossible, to recall a state of things hopelessly irrevocable, but one thing lacked; and that a protest to the death against the champions of the Reformation. That protest Mary, in the fierceness of her faith, trembled not to make; and it is the more peculiar glory of Cambridge that the sentence of martyrdom fell with the greatest frequency on her sons. It is hard, it would be foolish to forget the deaths for the sake of their faith of such men as Hooper or Latimer or Cranmer; but without involving ourselves in the discords of those unhappy years, we shall do well to trace in the lives and the deaths of those brave and honest men, the bonds which connect the history of

\* Cf. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, under 1556-7.

† Cf. Cooper. In the Provincial Convocation of Canterbury it was sought to restore the old Aristotle, the Master of the Sentences, and the whole scholastic learning: which it was stated "are most necessary for Professors of Theology." It was likewise suggested that none should fill Fellowships who were not destined for Orders, and also that members of the University should return to the wearing of sacerdotal garments.

our two Universities with the religious crisis of that age. The sanguinary pyres of Smithfield or the city ditch at Oxford were mocked by the vengeful flames, which consumed the dust of Fagius and Bucer, and the heretical tenets of suspected books; but the efforts of Mary were as futile as they were unwise, and helped only to further the cause she detested. With her death and her sister's accession the tale of English reform is told, while the formal incorporation of Oxford and Cambridge, in 1562, secured indeed their continued existence, but marked the permanent usurpation by the crown of authority over the Universities.

### *Germany.*

National Characters of Universities.

Each of the three great countries of Western Europe, says, Professor Döllinger\* in writing on the history of Universities, has imparted to its educational bodies something of their own peculiar character. So it is that the centralising genius of France gathered the extensive study of law into the schools of Orleans or Bourges, that of Medicine into Montpellier, and last, but chief of all, that of Theology into Paris; while England, with natural affinity to the principles of competition, gave birth to two Universities alone, whose greatness and influence have mainly depended on their mutual rivalry. The infinite division of Mediæval Germany on the other hand repeats itself in the number of its Universities; the growth of the mutual rivalry and jealousy of the numerous states and cities.

Original Foundations.

The foundation of the earliest German University did not take place until the middle of the 14th century; a date long after that of the first establishment of Paris or Oxford.

Early history of German Universities.

The course of events in Germany, prior to the latter half of the 14th century, had been too boisterous to admit of much reflection on the advantages of national education. Frederic II., the one amongst the earlier Emperors possessed of culture, was more an Italian than a German, and lavished

\* Cf. Döllinger, "Die Universitäten."

all his care on his foundation at Naples ; while the disputes of Hohenstaufen with the Papacy, together with the later struggles for the Imperial power, rendered the entry of learning and peaceful employments altogether impossible.

Whilst Oxford or Paris then were revelling in the full intellectual luxuriance of the 13th century, while the Schoolmen were forging the wonderful creation of subtlety and genius to which the men of succeeding ages bowed uncomprehending, as to a fetish ; while in the vilest parts and quarters of the aforementioned towns, the order of St. Francis was making itself alike the master of the new philosophy and the teacher of the studies of the future ; Germany stood wholly aloof, filled with the din and turmoil of petty and everlasting strife, devoid of culture or refinement, a nation conspicuous alone in those troubled ages for superior rapine and disorder.

To the friendship of the House of Luxemburgh for that of Valois, to the illustrious example of the University of Paris, the venerable mother of our Northern foundations, was due the erection in 1348 of the University of Prague. But a few years had elapsed from that event when Vienna became the home of the first purely German University ;<sup>\*</sup> and before the close of the century the creations of like institutions at Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388), and Erfurt (1392), bore witness to the hold the new movement had taken on the nation, or at least on its rulers.<sup>†</sup>

The constitution of these new foundations was copied exactly from that of Paris. They possessed the same organisation in nations ; Vienna was divided into the nations of the South, of Saxony, of Bohemia, of Hungary ; they retained the Faculties, as well as the more democratic remnants of the earlier system, the election of the Rector by the students and from the Faculty of Arts ; and above all in fond imitation of Parisian orthodoxy, they gave the greatest prominence to the Theological Faculty. Nowhere was the teaching of the Parisian divines and philosophers received and taught more earnestly than in the new German Academies. Aquinas, Occam, Albert, the sentences of Peter Lombard, commanded

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Von Meiner, "*Geschichte der Universitäten*," Vol. I.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Von Raumer, "*Geschichte der Pädagogik*," Vol. IV.

the attention and interest of the more zealous learners, while the medley of the doctrines of Aristotle and the Mediæval Church, which formed their philosophy, gradually usurped the place of all other teachings.

The next century brought considerable change and modification in the nature and arrangements of the Universities. That age was one of considerable stir and activity in its earlier years.

The corruptions of the Roman Church, and the absence of the Supreme Pontiffs from Italy, had aroused in Germany especially a sense of antagonism towards the Papacy.

In addition,\* a religious movement had grown up in Charles IV.'s foundation at Prague, which menaced by its growth the doctrines of the Church. The influence of the English Wycliffe had penetrated to Bohemia; and the eloquence of Huss enlisted the students and nobility of that country on the side of Reform.

Age of the  
Councils—  
Constance,  
1416; Basel,  
1433.

To meet these evils were held the great Councils of Constance and Basel; meetings whose indirect influence on University history was immense. \*The Renaissance of Letters was now, for the first time, making its influence felt in the countries of the West. Nothing helped more to further the spread of that influence than these gatherings, whither came the élite of the Universities, the scholars of Italy, and the greatest of the ecclesiastics of the day. The Germans, for the first time in their history, came into peaceful contact with Italy, and learnt to reverence the talents and learning of a people their inferiors in martial prowess. From that time until the end of the century and even later, German students flocked to hear the famous teachers of Italy, and the interest which had formerly centred round the schools of Paris was diverted with the death of Gerson to the cities of Lombardy and Northern Italy.

Post-Basel  
Universities.

Germany itself received solid advantages; for the foundation of fresh Universities was an almost immediate consequence of the presence within the Empire of so many of

\* Cf. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII.

\* Cf. Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwigs Maximilian Universität in Ingolstadt*, Vol. I., Introduction.

the intellectual leaders of the time; and the seeds of Humanistic studies were actively scattered by the dispersing Councillors. Basel owed its University to the exertions of the famous secretary of Frederic III., Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, while Tübingen (1477), Ingoldstadt, Trèves, and other schools, were treated to meet the wants of the age.

In their form, and in their course of studies, these later Universities followed closely on Vienna and Cologne; the causes of their erection alone betrayed the difference which was already apparent between their surroundings and the state of things which had given birth to the institutions they seemed to imitate. Paris and Oxford had been recognised portions of the world-embracing Church of the Middle Age, and, as such, had received from the Pope, its visible head, as well as from the Emperor, the necessary diploma for teaching; Ingoldstadt or Basel were the creations of an age so far divorced from ancient theory as to be content to sit in judgment on the successor of S. Peter, and even to depose him; while their professed object was the elevation of the lives and learning of the clergy, in combination with the task of training lawyers and secretaries for the diplomatic service of the Emperors.<sup>b</sup>

Herein is to be detected a considerable falling away from primitive notions, for the theory of the two previous centuries and more had been that of the purely clerical character of the University, so that even the Faculties of Law or Medicine were in the hands of ecclesiastics. But now the secular element began to insist on recognition, and to assert its rights to at least an equal footing. The more peaceful nature of the times favoured the growth of civilian classes, and therein aided this attempt, which necessarily was impracticable so long as arms and the assumption of orders were the sole recognised professions, and the Universities subject entirely to Church influences. The development which took place in this age in the science of Diplomacy was very considerable,<sup>c</sup> and the enhanced importance of civilians in public esteem may

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Prantl. *Geschichte Ingoldstadt*, Vol. I.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Coxe, *House of Austria*, Vol. I., Ed. Bohn.

Growth of lay  
element in the  
Universities.

be gathered from the place allotted to them in the Imperial Council by the Golden Bull of Charles IV. So, gradually, by unnoticed advances, the predominance of the theological interest in the Universities became undermined, and with the continuous decay and debasement of the monastic orders it became evident that any severe or sudden shock would seriously endanger, if not entirely overthrow, the tottering edifice.

The Renaissance and its effect on Germany.

The shock soon came, and came from Italy through the medium of the returning scholars who had flocked to sit at the feet of the learned of Florence, or Padua, or Rome. The introduction of the new studies on the North of the Alps produced the most important results, and from the particular turn which the genius of the Teutonic people gave to the studies of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, created that great religious movement, the German Reformation. It will be our task to illustrate the connexion of the literary and religious movement with the Universities, and show, to the best of our ability, the attitudes of the already founded bodies towards either, as well as the nature of the bodies which then arose.

Division of Universities into three classes.

The German Universities then of the first years of the 16th century, may be classified for convenience in three groups : *first*, the old foundations, such as Vienna or Cologne (or the Flemish Louvaine), which remained unwavering allies of the ancient faith and the ancient learning ; *secondly*, those foundations, as Erfurt, Tübingen, or Heidelberg, which while, as a whole, on the side of the Conservative party, still afforded a shelter to the friends of the Latin and Greek revival ; and *thirdly*, the new foundations, such as Wittemberg, Marburg, or Königsberg, which, founded in the very crisis itself, reflected in their constitutions all the points of divergence between the opinions of their founders and their rivals.

The old fashioned Universities.

If the advocates of classical literature, if the enemies of the supremacy of the scholastic philosophy and of its barbarous Latinity (then the two salient features for attack), had met with a cold reception in England or Paris, much more rigid was the opposition they experienced in Cologne.

The members of that University, amongst whom were included large numbers of the Dominican order, prided themselves particularly on their orthodoxy and adhesion to the orthodox writers. The theological faculty held the same commanding position in relation to the remainder of the University as that of Paris; and the ambition of its members was prone to attribute to its sentences a national importance. With a fearful dread of the influence of a knowledge of the dead languages on the position of the Vulgate and cherished work of Peter Lombard, the theologians of Cologne opposed with strenuous efforts the advance of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew studies.

The Latin Aristotle of the 13th century, with all the complicated system of metaphysics thereto added by the perverted industry of Scotus or Ockham, was upheld against the copies of the original Greek. The Trivium and Quadrivium, so far as philosophy had not elbowed out the other subjects, were resolutely perused in the writings of men, many of whom had lived in the first centuries subsequent to the final overthrow of the Western Empire; the selection of such writers as Boethius, Hispanus, Alcuin or Beda, seems to imply a belief in the unprogressive nature of knowledge. But above all, allegiance to Aristotle was the cardinal feature of the scholastic creed: the works of that writer attained a position higher in actual fact than those of the inspired authors: it was held impossible that he should err, and even where his teachings seemed to conflict with those of Christian experience<sup>d</sup> the teachers of his philosophy were ready provided with excuses and explanations. As elsewhere, the time of the student was fully occupied by attendance on lectures; private reading there was little or none, and indeed the frequency of attendance at lectures and disputes was made a necessary qualification for a degree.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Statutes of Arts Faculty of Heidelberg, copied from the original Statutes of Vienna. The explanation the teacher is to give is that Aristotle was "*sequens puram rationem naturalem, seclusa fide, vel forte non illuminatus fide.*" Cf. Hantz, *Geschichte von Univ. Heidelberg*, Vol. II., pp. 346-7.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Oath to be taken by a B.A., given by Hantz, Vol. II., pp. 346-7. He must swear he has heard (1) Lectures on the *Doctrinale* of Alexan-

Studies of the  
old Universi-  
ties.

At the commencement of the 16th Century, Universities of the older type preserved almost unchanged the features of the first foundations, and no further advanced in knowledge contented themselves with the fulfilment of an allotted routine, and the defence of all that was most barbarous in the learning of their forerunners.

The old Universities and the Renaissance.

It was by such bodies that the first Humanists were opposed, and round them throughout this age gathered all opposition to the innovators in the fields of letters or religion. Struggle as they might, the monks of Cologne, or the Doctors of Louvaine or Vienna, were forced to give way before the stress of circumstances, and the weapons with which such later champions of Rome, as the University of Ingoldstadt, opposed the Reformers were borrowed from the armoury of the Humanists.

The attitude of the Old towards the New party is best portrayed in the history of the struggle of the Dominicans of Cologne with the Hebrew Scholar Reuchlin, and the great body of German scholars of whom he was the acknowledged head. On the other hand the closeness of connexion between religious and literary reform in Germany was so great that it is impossible to dis sever the one from the other. We have seen in Italy that the Renaissance failed to pass out of the purely literary stage, that the minds of the Italians were devoid of interest for religious questions, and that while they concentrated all their attention on scholarship and elegance, they gradually degenerated into literary mimicry and religious unbelief.

The case was far otherwise in Germany. With the return of the Students from their Italian wanderings, a general passion arose for the pursuit of the Classics. Those who had not yet gone, flocked to Italy or Paris for instruction; the Universities in Germany which offered any encouragement to the Classics were at once frequently resorted to.<sup>f</sup>

The movement, however, almost at once aroused religious

der, (2) the *Summulæ of Hispanus*, (3) Aristotle's *Categories*, *Physics* (8 Books), the *De Anima*, and also that "*se ter ordinariæ magistros in artibus ad sophismata et ter extraordinariæ respondisse.*"

<sup>f</sup> E.g. Erfurt, Basel.



passions, and by the blow it inflicted on the system of the Mediæval] Fathers prepared the way for Luther: in Italy, where the Universities were secular in their nature, and the Renaissance had been fostered in princely courts, there had been no collision between conflicting parties, but in Germany, where the Universities were the sole centres of literary activity, and at the same time almost universally in the power of ecclesiastics, it was inevitable but that a collision should arise.

Reuchlin, the unwilling cause of the strife between the Monks and the Classicists, was a lawyer of considerable eminence, and held the posts of Judge of the Suabian League and Imperial Councillor. Educated in various Universities, according to the manner of the age, he acquired his legal knowledge in the schools of Orleans and Poitiers and his skill in Greek and Hebrew in Paris, Basel and Italy.

Devoting the greater part of his time to his official duties, he still found leisure for his linguistic studies, and by his research and industry made himself master of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

It is to his knowledge of the last mentioned tongue he owes his fame, as well as his entanglement in the famous quarrel with Pfefferkorn.

Reuchlin did for Hebrew literature in Europe what the first Italian Humanists had done for the classical tongues, he introduced its study among those necessary for every learned man; he showed the value of its literature to aid the explanation of the Biblical writings, and by the grammar he compiled, and the influence of his example, he popularised a study repugnant for many reasons to the minds of Christians.

The theologians of Cologne viewed the advance of the new studies, more especially that of Hebrew, with very different sentiments. To the minds of men bred up in the

Johann  
Reuchlin.

Reuchlin and  
the Theologians of Co-  
logne.

\* The spread of Hebrew studies is clearly manifested by the clauses in its favour in 16th Century Statutes. *E.g.* It is among regular Oxford lectures in Edward VIth's Statutes. It was a regular chair in Protestant Universities in Germany, cf., Koch, "Die Preussischen Universitäten," Vol. I, p. 536, cf., The Statutes of Königsberg; also Tübingen Statutes of 1601. At Heidelberg a Hebrew Professor was created 1551.

belief that the Vulgate, as the received version of the Catholic Church, was superior to any Greek or Hebrew copies, even though those were the original tongues of the writers; who thought the writings of Peter Lombard had exhausted the field of Biblical comment, and with the narrow bigotry of Mediæval Orthodoxy cherished the bitterest hate against the Jews, to the minds of such as these the new learning and its advocates were hateful in the extreme. If we want to acquaint ourselves with the feelings of the Theological Faculty, we need only read the famous Letters of the Obscure Men,<sup>b</sup> and see there held up to our ridicule, the weighty reasons which were opposed to the Reuchlinists. Astonishment, at the impudence of the Artists who dare to oppose the opinion of Theologians, is blended with rage at the attempt to introduce a new Bible and to show that the Old Testament would best be studied in the language of those accursed people, the Jews. The ludicrous style of the Letters was no exaggeration of the powers of the orthodox in classical composition, and the picture of their ignorance and morals was too true to be mistaken by their co-temporaries. Moreover the Faculty was eager to gain for itself a position akin to that held by Paris in the previous century, and led on by the Dominicans and the Inquisitor Hochstraten, were ripe for an attack on their enemies and those of the church. It was then with pleasure that the Cologne Divines accorded their aid to Pfefferkorn, a Jewish convert desirous to bring by fair means or foul the rest of his nation to acquiescence in the principles of Christianity. Unable through persuasion to win his end, his scheme was to get hold of the books of the Jews, and by depriving them of all writings calculated to strengthen their unbelief, to gradually wean them from their errors.

Pfefferkorn  
the Convert.

But the Jews were the particular property of the Emperor, and before any steps should be taken against them

<sup>b</sup> The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* were written in defence of Reuchlin, and to bring contempt on the opponents of the Humanists. So admirable was their imitation of the dog Latin of the monks, that they were not at once suspected of not being *bonâ fide*, and evoked indignant denials. Herr Kampschulte, in his *History of Erfurt*, has it seems satisfactorily assigned their design to Crotus, their execution to him, Hesse, and Hütten.

it was necessary to secure his consent. So Pfefferkorn went to the camp of Maximilian before Padua, and soon returned armed with a commission to seize and examine all the religious books of the Jews, with power to retain all works hostile to the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

On his way back, anxious to get the assistance of the great Hebraist Reuchlin, he visited him, asked for his countenance in the crusade against the Jews, and exhibited the permission of Maximilian. But Reuchlin refused, and confined himself to pointing out technical shortcomings in the document. Pfefferkorn began his work at Frankfort, but by the unexpected opposition of the Archbishop of Mainz was forced to seek a fresh mandate from the Emperor. By this commission the care of the matter was referred to the Archbishop, who was to call in the assistance of Reuchlin, Hochstraten, and the Universities of Cologne, Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Mainz. The question submitted to their decision was: "Is it right and good to destroy the works of the Jews, with the exception of the Ten Commandments, the Psalter and the Prophets?"

The Archbishop of Mainz, and his University, as also that of Cologne, desired only the preservation of the Bible; while Erfurt, the home of Humanistic ideas, advocated the destruction alone of anti-Christian writings; Heidelberg proposed a conference for further discussion.

Decision of  
Universities  
and Reuchlin.

The answer of Reuchlin, based on more general grounds as was to be expected from his superior acquirements, received the greatest attention. He divided Jewish literature into two classes, objectionable works, and those not so. In the first category he placed only two works, the books Nizachan and Toldoth Jeschu, writings professedly aimed at the Christian faith. In the second class he places all the remaining Jewish books. He defended the Thalmud on the grounds that it contained evidences of the truth of Christianity, and that it had met with the approval of Christ himself; the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, "Leben von J. Reuchlin." Herr Geiger acquits Pfefferkorn of the charge of mere malice, and considers that he was actuated from real desire for the conversion of the Jews.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Geiger, as also Strauss, "Life of Ulrich von Hütten."

Cabbala he showed to have been vindicated by Sixtus IV. and Pico della Mirandola ; nor could he see any reason for the overthrow of the Biblical glosses, the books of sermons and songs, of philosophy and poetry which made up the remainder of Jewish literature. He was of opinion that it would be absurd to destroy as blasphemous the books of a people who did not believe in Christ, since their opinions were real and not malicious, and he suggested that no people, from the high esteem they entertained for the Bible, were less likely to commit the crime, which the Dominicans affected to fear, of falsifying the original text. The way by which he hoped to convert the Jews was very different : for he was of opinion that by the creation of chairs of Hebrew knowledge in some of the Universities and the consequent increase of the acquaintance of the learned with the Jewish tenets, it would be possible in time to reconcile the two creeds.

We can be scarcely surprised that when, through the dishonest act of Pfefferkorn, this judgment, intended only for the private perusal of the Emperor, was published together with an attack on Reuchlin entitled the *Augenspiegel*, that the orthodox party was greatly incensed. Its opinions were of the nature best calculated to offend the bigotry of the leading party in Cologne ; and for the future they strained every nerve for the overthrow of their great antagonist.

The contests  
of the Reuch-  
linists with  
Cologne.

The cause of Reuchlin was that, however, of all the German Humanists, and of all men whether desirous of the furtherance of Letters or Church reform. The pens of the ablest writers of the day were at his disposal, his cause evoked the sympathies and remonstrances of the King of the Humanists, Erasmus, and the fame of his acquirements protected his interests in the venal court of Leo X.

The Faculty of Cologne was none the less persistent in its attacks on Reuchlin ; it hated him for his connexion with the party who ridiculed its theological and literary absurdities, and made it the common laughing stock ; it hated him for his reply to Pfefferkorn, the *Augenspiegel*, whose circulation had been great ; above all, accustomed to implicit obedience, it could little brook to be thus thwarted. But though the Doctors succeeded in reducing Reuchlin to temporise, they were

unable to make him accede to their terms and own himself an enemy of the Jews. But their reference of the matter to Louvaine and Paris was a masterly stroke of policy; for the adverse decision of those Universities greatly depressed the cause of the Reuchlinists.

The decision of the court at Spire in favour of Reuchlin, together with the quashing in 1516 of the appeal to the Papal court, might have damped the ardour of less fierce haters than the Cologne theologians, but undismayed, they gained in 1520, a Bull, which overthrew the former sentence of Spire, and condemned the Augenspiegel. Worn out with strife, and deprived by the troubles of the time of his patrimony, Reuchlin accepted the chairs of Greek and Hebrew in Ingold-<sup>Close of the Reuchlin episode.</sup>stadt, and died in 1522.

The hate and opposition of the older party in the Universities, was thus we see, very intense: for the introduction of the new studies meant the overthrow, not only of the ancient system of instruction, but also of the religious theories which were so closely interwoven with them. The sentiment was not peculiar to Cologne or Paris, it found advocates in nearly all the Academies which did not owe their existence immediately to the Reformation times.

\*The University of Louvaine, founded in the early half<sup>University of Louvaine, 1426.</sup> of the 15th century, owes its celebrity to the strong partisanship of its teachers against Erasmus, as well as to the College of the Three Languages, the centre of classical study for the<sup>The Collegium Trilingue, 1518.</sup> Low Countries, Northern France, and even Germany. Nowhere hardly can we find stronger contrasts in such close proximity—the study of the three languages side by side with the studies of the orthodox Faculty of Theologians, than in Louvaine. Erasmus was the chief guardian of the young College, and Erasmus by his gibes at the ignorance of the monks, by his attacks on the common Theology, and by his lately published *Novum Instrumentum*, was the dread and hated foe of the orthodox party. The College consequently did not arise without opposition; the University was jealous

\* The history of the Collegium Trilingue of Louvaine, and its connection with the literary history of the 16th Century, may be found in M. Nève's work.

lest it should gain for itself an independent position, and the common dislike to any new innovations found expression in the tumultuous cry<sup>1</sup> of the younger members of the Faculty of Arts. Soon, however, the College was able to hold its own, though sharing in some degree the ups and downs of its patron Erasmus; and until the troubles and wars of the reign of Charles V. ruined the prosperity of the Low Countries, and the separation of the republic of Holland from the Spanish rule impaired its position, the College of Busleiden (or of the Three Languages) continued in tolerable circumstances, and did much good work in the cause of education. The University, on the other hand, ultimately languished for the same reasons, and finally fell into the usurping power of the Jesuits.

University of  
Erfurt.

Of all the German Universities, that on which, with the exception of Wittemberg, the interest of the student of this Reformation time most naturally falls, is Erfurt. It was this town which was the centre of that great league of the poets, (or Reuchlinists), whose share in the struggle with Pfefferkorn and the Doctors of Cologne was so prominent; and here, through connexion with the University, were brought into contact with one another all the chief actors of those stirring times, Eoban Hesse, Mutian, Crotus, Luther, Melancthon, Spalatin, and others of less note.

The University owed its foundation to the desire of the townspeople to possess such a means of advancing the general welfare, and received in 1390 from Boniface IX.<sup>m</sup> the Bull, which gave it the position of a "studium generale." Like all the earlier bodies it was divided into Faculties and governed by a Rector, but it does not appear that the national organization was adopted, although the rector still remained in part the chosen officer of the students, since he was elected by a joint deputation selected by the Faculties and the students.

<sup>1</sup> "Nos non loquimur Latinum de foro Piscium, sed loquimur Latinum matris nostrae Facultatis." The College was placed in the vicinity of the Fishmarket. Cf. Nève, *Histoire du Collège des Trois Langues*."

<sup>m</sup> Cf. Ersch and Grüber, *Encyclopædia*, under head Erfurt. Boniface IV., besides the rank of University, gave permission to its beneficed teachers to be non-resident for 10 years.

As in other University towns, various Colleges were to be found in Erfurt, and its only real distinction lay in the existence, from its earliest days, of a Professorial body. It will be recollected that the teaching of the Mediæval University was performed by the "magistri," who were bound to read lectures for a space of two years, after taking their degrees. This attempt to substitute a body of fixed teachers was therefore a novelty, and an anticipation of the system we shall have to consider when we come to examine the characteristics of the Protestant Universities. It is sufficient for our present purpose, to point out that these Professors stood outside the Faculties, nor could be considered as "ex-officio" members of any one of them; as also that towards the commencement of the 16th century they appear as a regular body, receiving their stipends from the University Chest.<sup>1</sup>

It was, perhaps, due to this circumstance that Erfurt became the first home of German classical learning; for this independence of the narrow restrictions of the Faculties enabled the University to act far more progressively than its neighbours, and in consequence in 1460, it was able to boast that it numbered among its Professors the first Humanist who had taught in all Germany. The most glorious epoch of its existence was between 1494 and the close of the century, when the most brilliant assemblage of students gathered within the walls of Erfurt. It would be a mistake to suppose that the revival of letters, of which Erfurt was so distinguished a home, was due wholly to Italian influences. Irrespective of the lessons learnt by German students in Italy; a quiet revolution, and one more tinged with religious feeling, had been taking place in the Northern lands. So early as the close of the 14th century the school of Deventer had risen under the care of Gerardus Magnus or Geert Groote. Its aim was an educational reform, but education so maimed by the wish to derive only spiritual benefit as to be little valuable for any real purposes of universal education.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Erfurt Professors.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Ludetus teaches at Erfurt, 1466.

<sup>3</sup> The Fratres Scholares.

<sup>1</sup> We find then, Two Canonists, Two Theologians, Two Civilians, Six Artists, Two Professors of Medicine: in all 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Von Raumer, "Geschichte der Pädagogik." Some account also of the brothers is given in an Essay of C. Parker, on "Liberal Education."

Gerard of  
Zutphen.

He was followed, however, by Gerard of Zutphen, who won from Eugenius IV. the papal acknowledgment of his order of "fratres Scholares," an order whose task was to consist in the direction of education.

Earliest re-  
vivalists in  
Germany.

The desire at Gerard's heart was the raising of the masses from their shameful ignorance, and to do that the better he sought earnestly to emancipate knowledge from the weary chains of Scholasticism. He was so daring as to desire the common use of the Holy Scriptures in the common tongue, and express his belief that the Vulgate had only been desirable in the days when Latin was the universal language. Thus early in Germany had religious and educational reform begun to be desired, and thus early was that interdependence of letters and religion established, which is so striking a feature in the Reformation history. The intellectual successors of Gerard of Zutphen and his subordinate, Thomas à Kempis, were men certainly of greater learning, if not superior in intellect. John Wessel, the most remarkable of them,—a man educated in Cologne, Paris, and Italy, and the friend of Reuchlin, Sixtus IV., and the Cardinal Bessarion,—was a man of such pronounced opinions on matters of Church reform, that Luther is reported to have said, "If I had not begun to teach before I read Wessel, men would certainly have said I had got my doctrines second-hand!"

Rudolph Agricola, too, attained to considerable eminence as a scholar; while his exhortations to others helped greatly to foster a love of true learning among the more studious.

Thus by a continuous succession of men, whose intellects had freed them from the chains of ignorance which fettered all around them, the German nation was gradually prepared for the eager appropriation of the spoils of the Italian Renaissance, as well as for the more serious task of setting in order ecclesiastical affairs.

Such seems the easiest mode of accounting for the wonderful rapidity with which Germany made the classical studies her own, and contrived to surpass in real learning their former masters, the Italians.

Erfurt, at the beginning of the century, was the scene of



much literary bustle; but, in a few years, the prosperity of the University declined through sundry disturbances. In 1515 a teacher, the famous Eoban Hesse, succeeded in restoring it to much of its former glory, and with the aid of Mutianus Rufus, who dwelt in the neighbouring town of Gotha, Hesse made Erfurt the capital of the Reuchlinists, and the resort of the enemies of Hochstraten and the orthodox party.

Hesse himself was a man who had risen to be Professor of Rhetoric chiefly through his talents and application, for his birth was humble. He was possessed of a strong natural taste for scholarship, and was conspicuous as a child for his power of versification. His success as a teacher of the classics was, according to Camerarius, very considerable; while his translations, and his numerous original compositions, display no slight amount of literary energy.

Yet a more remarkable man was Mutian, a scholar in every way typical of the perfect Humanist. He was wholly devoted to study, and, unwilling to distract his attention therefrom, refused to fill any office of tuition. Yet he exercised no slight influence over the minds of the Erfurt students, since he was always ready to afford advice and help to those among them really desirous of knowledge. There are, indeed, few more attractive incidents in the history of education than the picture which has been drawn for us by his contemporaries of the life of Mutian. Secluded from the turmoil of a stormy age, he made his home a peaceful resting-place for those whose life was less placid; his constant desire was the advance of learning, and nothing we are told<sup>a</sup> caused him more real pleasure than to hear of a young man devoting himself to earnest pursuit of literature. Without having passed into Atheism as the Italian scholars, whom otherwise he most nearly resembled, had done, he yet was far removed from a belief in the accepted creed of the time; he fancied he

Mutian, the  
German Hu-  
manist.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Camerarius, *Vita Eobani Hesse*. He says of Hesse's teaching, "Auctores utriusque linguae et Graecae et Latinae optimos, oratores imprimis, et poetas explicabat et exemplo et institutione, auditorum ingenia ad artium liberalium studium accendebat, successu prosperrimo."

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Camerarius, *Vita Eobani Hesse*.

recognised an uniform belief in God throughout history, though it was veiled beneath various names. With an unusual respect for the beliefs of others, he was chary in discussing his own theories; while, on the other hand, together with Pico della Mirandola, he entertained a great idea of the mysterious side of much of the Christian faith, with an almost childish belief in the enigmatic and allegorical nature of the Bible.

The prosperity of Erfurt was but shortlived, however, and its brevity may not seem an unnatural consequence of the character of its leaders. The age was (as regards Germany) one of strong Theological feeling, and nothing which was not in some way connected with the prevailing sentiment could hope for prolonged existence. Erfurt's fame and reputation rested on a purely literary basis, and had been increased by the temporary importance it acquired during the affair with Cologne. But a few years after the publication of the "*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*," and the University of Erfurt had almost ceased to exist. The outbreak of the Reformation was in the last degree fatal to the academy, already severely taxed by the growth of Wittenberg in such close proximity. The sentiments of the town were divided between Catholicism and Reform, and the difference of opinion found an outlet in disturbances. The passage of Luther through Erfurt on his way to the Diet of Worms, was the signal for a riot; and a plague which shortly after raged with the greatest violence greatly reduced the University. Despite the exertions of Eoban this decline was never again overcome; the sack, in the riot of 1521, of the Great College as it was named, together with the dissensions which existed between the citizens and the Elector of Mainz on the one hand, and the Duke of Saxony on the other, took from Erfurt all chance of regaining its former glory; and even had these disadvantages been superable, the Catholic nature of the University, and the dissensions aroused by the conduct of the Lutheran preacher, Johann Lang, were alone sufficient to insure its ruin.

Eoban was forced from want of reward to seek elsewhere for employment, and finally went to the Landgrave Philip's

new foundation of Marburg. The number of matriculations which in days of prosperity had averaged between 300 to 400 a year, sank in 1521 to 120, and in 1526, to 14.

No institution could hope in those years to live apart from the general strife, and the fall of Erfurt, the last resting place in Europe of the pure Renaissance spirit, brings us face to face with times when pure literary interests are finally subordinated to the ends of political or religious conception, and when the scholar yields the palm to the statesman or the theologian.

With the fall of Erfurt had passed away the intermediate epoch which joins the Renaissance and the Reformation. Already the parties of the future had taken up their position; already the questions for future debate were in readiness; already a new chapter in the history of the Universities was opening. The old party cries of Humanists and Theologians were forgotten, the disputes of Nominalist and Realist were put aside. Minor differences were laid aside, the fight was no longer for classics in preference to schoolmen, but for Protestantism against Catholicism. There was a complete re-arrangement of parties; men who had fought against Hochstraten, or who had felt with Mutian, now ranked themselves on the Catholic side, while others, who had watched unmoved the previous struggles, threw themselves on the side of Luther and Reform.

For the future the rivalry of German Universities was to be no longer one of learning; they became the forges in which were wrought the weapons of the religious contest, the strongholds of Lutheran or Papist.

Among those Universities of the old type which played an active rôle in the German reform movement was that of Ingoldstadt. Owing its rise to the impulse given by the great church councils, this foundation was created by the Duke of Lower and Upper Bavaria, with the avowed object of therein training Lawyers and Diplomats for the service of the State. Composed of the usual Faculties and directed by the customary officers, Ingoldstadt borrowed the major part of its statutes from the Vienna statute book; while the friendship of the Pope secured for the young University like

Ingoldstadt,  
1472.

privileges with those formerly enjoyed "in Athens, and now in Bologna and Vienna," and even secured the extraordinary right of bestowing degrees without reference to ecclesiastical consent. Whatever might be the advances made in Italy during the 15th century, it is pretty certain that Ingoldstadt profited by them but little. The works of the schoolmen reigned supreme in her educational course, and the influence of the classics was regarded as pernicious: like the other Scholastic Universities, Ingoldstadt was torn in the first years of the 16th century with the contest of the Nominalists and Realists,\* the followers of Aquinas and the followers of Scotus, the moderni and antiqui as they were sometimes called. So severe was the contest, that until the year 1518, the Faculty of Art was separated into two entirely separate bodies, holding their own lectures and disputations, and called the one the Faculty of the moderns, the other that of the ancients.

Ingoldstadt as a new University prided itself, it would seem, on its fidelity to Scholasticism; yet the results of its policy do not appear to have been satisfactory. The passion of the first ten or fifteen years of the century was for classical study, and the refusal of Ingoldstadt to comply with the popular will only drove students to those centres of Humanism where they could satisfy to the full their desires.

\*Evidence of the ill which resulted from this emigration of scholars is discernible in the petition presented by the Senate, (through John Eck) to the Duke; a petition which requests that the departure of students to foreign Universities may for the future be checked, and that each of the Bavarian bishops should be compelled to send at his own charge a student to the University.

Yet the difficulty of standing in opposition to the general sentiment grew rather than decreased, and already in 1508 the business of the theological faculty came to nothing for want of professors. With the hope of benefitting by his vigour and activity the University chose John Eck as Professor of Theology, and in 1517, in order "to somewhat revive

\* Cf. Prantl., *Gesch. von Ingoldstadt*, Vol. I.

\* Cf. Prantl., *Gesch. von Ingoldstadt*, Vol. I., p. 110.

the sinking University," they gave way to the pressure of circumstances and begged Eck to write Commentaries on the chief works of Aristotle, as well as on his Commentator, Peter Hispanus.

From the entry of Eck on office the fortunes of Ingoldstadt revived, and remained throughout the Reformation period fairly prosperous; though this prosperity was perhaps chiefly to be attributed to the development of the religious contest, which cut off all Catholic students from frequenting any longer Protestant Universities, as well as to the fame Eck brought on his own Academy by his ardent defence of the cause of Rome.

When Luther first sent his theses to his old acquaintance Eck, the latter perceived in them only a novel and bold collection of propositions, which he fancied could be decided by the usual machinery of scholastic argument; and it was according to the proved methods of scholastic disputations that he conducted his cause at Leipsic (1519). Eck and Luther.

There, however, he discovered his error, and found that Luther based all his arguments on the words of Scripture alone, and would have none of his dialectic. From that day Eck threw himself into strenuous opposition to the Reformers and Wittenberg. Proceeding to Rome, he laid before Leo the danger the church would incur from a teacher who revived the ancient opposition to the Papal supremacy; and denied alike the doctrines of Pardon and Free Will. On his return, armed with the Bull against Luther, "*De Primatu*," (though the feeling of the country, and even of the rulers, was adverse to its publication,) the influence of Eck with his fellow Academicians was sufficient to secure that the University of Ingoldstadt should take upon themselves its issue. Nor did the efforts of Eck rest content with mere denunciation of Lutheran tenets; he conducted with much activity a crusade against all suspected members of his University.

\* The Duke of Bavaria actually asked Eck to withdraw the Bull, and the Bishops of Passau, Regensburg, Freising, and Eichstadt, begged the Archbishop of Salzburg to prevent the disturbance of the public peace. Cf. Prantl. Vol. I.

Ingoldstadt.

Religious per-  
secutions.

In 1522, amongst other victims, they seized on M. Seehoff, a graduate who had heard Melancthon lecture at Wittemberg, and had dared within the precincts of Ingoldstadt to lecture in like manner on the Epistles of St. Paul; the penalty inflicted was a fine of 1000 florins, and Seehoff was forced publicly in tears to recant his errors. The Theological Faculty formed themselves into a regular board of inquisition, and exercised a strict surveillance over all suspected students and burghers. With time their passions grew fiercer, and in 1527 a priest who had left Ingoldstadt for Wittemberg, was seized on his return to visit his father's death-bed, and mercilessly burned.

Such faithful devotion amidst a too general defection did not fail to elicit the favour of the Pope, and in 1523 Hadrian VI. bestowed on his adherents of Ingoldstadt five Canonries, wherewith should be endowed fresh Theological Lectureships. Such a grant was peculiarly acceptable, for the competition with the Protestant Academies had already made it apparent that lectures in Greek and Hebrew were imperative; whilst it was exceedingly desirable that the education of the Catholic Universities, the better to compete with the Protestant, should be as far as possible gratuitous.

A new chapter in the history of Ingoldstadt, and indeed of all the Continental Universities, opened when the power of the Jesuits first began to make itself felt.

The Jesuits.

Few things in the history of the relations of mankind to one another are more wonderful than the extraordinary success which attended the efforts of the Company of Jesus. Yet it was due to one of the commonest of the laws which control the actions of the world, the law of reaction. Never could the operation of reactionary influences have proved of greater service in extremity than when Ignatius Loyola came forward to offer his services to the tottering Papacy. Already England, and the greater half of Germany, had deserted to the side of the Reformers; France was not unmoved by the genius of Calvin and his followers, and even in Italy there were suspicions of heretical tenets; while the Universities, which should have been the staunchest

\* Prantl., *Gesch. von Ingoldstadt*, Vol. I., 1550 to 1588.

champions of the faith, were in too many cases to be reckoned among its most dangerous adversaries. In addition to these perils, the Papacy was constantly menaced by Charles with the fear of a Council, than which its previous experience had left it nothing more to dread.

Yet within half a century the Jesuits had completely turned the table on the Reformers. The fact which most concerns us is, that by the 17th century they had possessed themselves of nearly all the leading Universities of Europe. From a little work printed in 1629, and entitled "*Speculum Jesuiticum*," it is evident that they were then in occupation of Colleges and Houses in every country in Europe; and these in the hearts of the chiefest towns and Universities, such as Prague, Vienna, Paris, Rouen or Heidelberg. Spain was at their feet, and so also Italy; their share in the decrees of Trent made them the heroes of orthodox Germany and France, and their influence was felt alike in England and on the farthest frontiers of Poland.

The wound which diverted Ignatius Loyola from a frivolous pursuit of chivalry to the study of religious questions, has become one of the commonplaces of historical narrative, nor would it be permissible to linger over the events of his life, were they not so closely connected with University history. After aimless study in the Colleges of Alcalá and Salamanca for the theological degree, he proceeded to Paris, determined to gain that distinction in the most famous and orthodox school of Europe. There during the dreary years consumed in the preliminary and inevitable course of Arts, he formed the nucleus of that celebrated body which revolutionised Europe. At Paris he made disciples of Faber, Lainez, Salmeron, Xavier and Bobadilla. In the crypt of the Church of Montmartre, at a midnight and solemn service, this little band took solemn oaths of chastity and poverty. Their original design had been to proceed to Jerusalem and there help to protect and succour the pilgrims to the sacred shrine.

A war then raging between Venice and the Ottoman Turks forbade the fulfilment of their design, and more mature

† Cf. Ranke, "*The Popes of Rome*."

1540-3.

reflection suggested the greater services to Catholicism to be performed nearer home. Recognised by Paul III. as an order of regulars, they devoted their attention to the restoration of the power of the Papacy, and as a most important means to that end, to the superintendence of education. It is to the genius of Lainez, the second general of the order, and a man of greater culture and worldly wisdom than his leader Loyola, that we are indebted for that remarkable work the "*Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*," as well as the educational design for whose furtherance it was composed.

Lainez had thoroughly comprehended the great superiority of the Protestants as instructors, as well as the necessity of throwing the new order heart and soul into the pursuit of the classics. It was only at the Vulgate that the line was drawn; the Jesuits purposed to maintain the Latin text regardless of the labours of Erasmus, of Coverdale or of Ximenes. As regards literary education pure and simple, the Jesuit was to be the first scholar of his age.

"To secure that result the Jesuit novice (when once his mind had been fashioned to devout obedience by the prescribed exercises of a month of retirement) was ordered to devote all his care to study. From all spiritual exercises he was exempt, lest they should distract his attention, and the conscience of the more sensitive was soothed with the assurance that diligent toil was the most pleasing offering to the Almighty.

Before he had completed his education, the novice was expected to the best of his abilities to have mastered Latin and Greek literature, Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Theology, both Scholastic and Positive, and the Sacred Writings, and these in the above order.

Thus carefully trained, the Jesuit fathers became dangerous rivals for supremacy in the scholastic world, and soon asserted their claims to the care of education. Thoughtful provision had been made in the Constitutions for the management of popular education. Besides their houses for professed members and novices, the order possessed likewise

\* Cf. "*Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*," Part IV., Cap. VI.



Seminaries and Colleges. \*The Seminaries were the schools for the sons of the wealthy; the Colleges were planted, when possible, in the centres of Universities.

It was through such a College that the Jesuits first secured their position in Ingoldstadt and laid the foundation of future supremacy.

The polished manners of the Jesuit Faber had so greatly won the heart of Duke William IV. of Bavaria, that he filled his court with members of the order; and in 1546 begged Paul III. to send him from its numbers a Theological Professor. His request was fully complied with; for not one but three Jesuits,—Salmeron, Jay, and Canisius,—were despatched to Ingoldstadt.

Matters were, however, as yet scarcely ripe, although in 1550 (in which year Jay founded in Vienna the first German College of the order,) Canisius was elected both Rector and Vice-Chancellor,<sup>†</sup> a most extraordinary step if we recollect the strong prohibitions of all the Mediæval Statutes against the election of regulars to University office.

In 1555 the Jesuits were empowered to establish a College, and, at the same time, bound to obey the Rector, Senate, and Statutes of the Faculty of Theology, (to which they were to be affiliated,) with respect, however, for the privileges of the Order.

It was not long, however, before strife broke out; for, whatever were the feelings of the University towards the Roman Church, they were unable to tolerate the usurpations of these its chosen champions.

Even at the very outset Loyola overstepped the bounds of the Duke (Albert) of Bavaria's request; for he sent to Ingoldstadt not only theologians, but also teachers skilled in classics, and even Hebrew. Aided by the unqualified support of the Government, the Jesuits manifested the most alarming intentions, and drew forth from the University a strenuous complaint of wrongs: From a petition presented to Duke Albert, it would appear that the Jesuits had sought to monopolise the instruction of both the Faculties of Theology

\* Cf. "*Speculum Jesuiticum*."

† Prantl., *Gesch. von Ingoldstadt*, Vol. I., from 1550-88.

and Philosophy, and had desired to retain the places in the Faculty of Arts, or the Senate, which any one of their members had once occupied, as if they belonged to them in perpetuity. Secondly, it was complained that they sought to obtain an unlawful majority of votes in the Senate, that they failed to attend disputes, and disregarded the Statutes.\*

It was impossible that the Duke should leave such flagrant infractions of the statutes and his original compact entirely unnoticed; still the influence of the Jesuits remained undiminished.

By a reform of the Faculty of Arts in 1571, the "ratio studiorum" of the Jesuits was introduced, and the natural consequence of such a change at once ensued, in the transfer to the Jesuits of the guidance of the students of Arts.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this essay to trace farther the career of the Jesuits in the history of Ingoldstadt or any other University. Yet it is instructive to observe how fierce an opposition was offered to them, even in those bodies most strongly attached to the principles and cause of Catholicism. For the Jesuits, by their desertion of the ancient educational routine, appeared in the eyes of the more conservative, traitors to the cause they professed to defend; while their system of gratuitous teaching, and the favour they met with from the mass of Roman Catholics, enabled these ecclesiastics to empty of their students the Colleges and lecture rooms of any University which opposed the admission of the order amidst its members. Yet, when once they had effected their entrance, the course of events we have just been reviewing at Ingoldstadt, demonstrates into what great jeopardy the existence of the invaded University fell; for the unscrupulous maxims of the Order held its further aggrandisement restrained by no oaths, however solemn.

The success of the order was immense; in the 17th century it was difficult except in the Dutch Republic, Great Britain, and Northern Germany, to find any educational body

\* *Ad denique ab omnibus statutis universitatis liberi, an ipsis ad se omnia rapere, in gymnasis regnare, omnibusque dominari liceat, &c., &c.* Cf. *Articles of University* (1564) against Jesuits, quoted at length in *Frantl*, Vol. II., p. 252 3.

free of their control. Their triumph, however, was won by fierce exertion, and the excitement of the fiercest hate and passion against the order.

Nowhere was more strenuous opposition encountered than in Paris; where political reasons, blended with the old jealous instincts of that University, induced it to offer the fiercest resistance to the Jesuits. From amidst the numerous works which testify to the bitter dislike entertained towards the order, a short poem entitled "The complaint of the University of Paris against the strangers lately come, called Jesuits," throws a good deal of light on the feelings of the Academicians against their too successful rivals.

An attack on the Order at the time of their contemplated restoration to France.

The opening lines are full of bitterness—

"O lecteur qu'ay je dit! Hélas point je ne nie,  
Que du Sauveur Jesus soient de la compagnie;  
Mais sont *comme* Judas, qui la bourse portoit."

Then ensue the charges most commonly advanced against the order—

"Vous estes Confesseurs, vous estes Medecins  
Vous estes Advocats . . . . .  
Vous parlez de Jesus, aussi n'oubliez pas  
De qu'il faut laisser pour prier quelque cas  
Vous promettez enfer à cel qui rien ne donne  
Et au donnant donnez la celeste couronne.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sans recognoistre aucun aux villes et cites  
Vous voulez annihilez les universitez."

Vain are their hopes, says the poem in conclusion, if the Jesuits wish to possess themselves of Paris, for, through the royal benevolence, the University possesses teachers of every branch of learning in no way inferior to those of the Order.

Yet over all obstacles the indomitable perseverance of the followers of Ignatius triumphed, and the University history of the next century consists in little beside the chronicle of their doings. With them we shall likewise bid farewell to the older foundations of Germany with whose future theirs was inextricably intertwined.

\* The Complaint, &c., a pamphlet to be found in the Bodleian, among a series of contemporary writings.

Wittenberg.

From the wiles of the Jesuit and the persecuting vehemence of Eck, we turn with pleasure to the University of Wittenberg, the home of far other and more manly influences, and the scene of the ceaseless labours of the great Melancthon.

The history of the University of Wittenberg, inferior in events of stirring interest though it may be, possesses, even before it became the home of the Reformer Luther, some points of notable character.

Its foundation was originally due to the arrangement made by Maximilian with the seven Electors,<sup>b</sup> that they should each found an Academy within their dominions. In 1502 the Elector Frederic determined to carry out his share in the scheme, and fixed the seat of the new University at Wittenberg.

"It is related that when this locality was suggested by his minister Mellerstadt, the Elector objected on the ground of the inadequacy of the town with its mud houses and sandy sterile neighbourhood for the support of an University. "Why will you defy God," was the memorable answer of Mellerstadt, "the Academy which you will found at Wittenberg will surpass all those of Germany."

The elector yielded, and the promise of Mellerstadt was amply fulfilled. In itself the University had nothing to distinguish it from the other foundations of this century, though its divergence from the original University organisation was considerable.

There was a Rector, but he was one of the Professors, and no longer a nominee of the students; there were Faculties; but the sole task of teaching was confided to a body of ten Professors; the old Collegiate system was wanting, and students dwelt at their will in all quarters of the town.

Even from the very first Wittenberg seemed destined to act in opposition to traditionary method, and to defy in the earliest hours of its existence the customs of centuries.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. M. D. Nisard's account of Melancthon in his "*Etudes sur la Renaissance*."

<sup>c</sup> This conversation is related in the discourse upon the foundation of Wittenberg in Melancthon's orations; quoted by M. Nisard in the above Essay.

It had been usual we have seen for the primitive Universities to seek an authorisation of their right to teach and confer degrees at the hands of the Pope. In Germany it was customary to solicit a similar recognition<sup>d</sup> at the hands of the Emperor, the representative of the secular power. For five years, from 1502 until 1507, Frederic refused to adopt the usual course, and request the Pope for a Bull of foundation, contenting himself for those years with the imperial authorisation. Then he yielded to common prejudice, and Wittemberg received the Bull constituting it a "*studium generale*" at the hands of Julius II. Bull of Julius II.

Yet in its earliest days the young Academy of Wittemberg, favourable though it doubtless was to the adoption of new ideas did not, until the coming of Melancthon, strike out any new method of education.

From its statutes we learn that the students had still to study for the degree of M.A. the writings of Hispanus, the new and old Logic of Aristotle, grammar, and the numerous treatises of Aristotle such as the Physics, the Ethics, the Metaphysics, and the books "*de Caelo et Mundo*," "*de generatione et corruptione*."

Yet freed from the restraining influences of a traditionary education, and possessed in its Professors of a body infinitely superior as teachers to those formerly supplied by the Faculties under the old system, Wittemberg was quite open to such influences as might be met with in the neighbouring city of Erfurt.

In 1513 Luther arrived in Wittemberg to fill the chair of Theology; great as was the genius of the German Reformer his abilities were not of the kind calculated to win him a great Academic reputation apart from theological questions; and his influence on the fortunes of Wittemberg was of a personal and temporary nature, rather than of that durable character which proceeds from a comprehension not only of educational theories but also of the methods by which they may be made of practical use.

<sup>d</sup> Hantz, speaking of application of Heidelberg for recognition of the Chancellor by the Emperor, says:—"Fehlen durfte diese Kaiserliche 'authoritas' der Universität in keinem Falle, da das Recht, die Erlaubniss zum Creiren von Doctoren zu ertheilen, von dem Kaiser als ein Reservat-Recht angesprochen wurde." Vol. I., *Gesch. von Heidelberg*.

Still the nature of his lectures and teachings, coinciding as they chanced to do with a wide spread but hitherto silent sentiment of dislike for the corruptions of Latin Christianity, caused a considerable resort to the University of Wittemberg of students anxious to gain further knowledge on a subject of such absorbing interest.

Yet it was not until after the year 1518 that we can correctly speak of Wittemberg as an important centre of education.

Wittemberg  
and Melan-  
thon.

It was in that year that the great scholar Philip Melancthon came at the request of the Elector to fill the chair of Greek : a young man who had scarcely attained his twenty-second year. From his earliest childhood, Philip Melancthon had come in contact with the leaders of the Humanist party and been indoctrinated with a thorough love for classical studies. Educated as a child in the house of the sister of Reuchlin, he was a favourite and near friend of the much persecuted Hebraist ; and it was at the desire of Reuchlin that Melancthon accepted the invitation to Wittemberg.

The " Rhein-  
Gesellschaft."

At the age of twelve years he commenced the Arts course in the schools of Heidelbergh. That University was then in the enjoyment of considerable fame amongst the friends of the " New Studies," from the assembly there of such celebrated men as Reuchlin, Courad Celtes, and Dionysius around the court of Philip the Elector Palatine\* and his friend Johann von Dalberg.

But by 1509, the date of Melancthon's matriculation, the company was dispersed, and according to his own account Melancthon found only " a loquacious Dialectic and a little Physic" at Heidelbergh.

Possessed at the age of 14 of the Bachelor's degree in Arts, Philip, still desirous to discover some spot favourable to classical study, journeyed to Tübingen ; where the Franciscan Scriptoris, Bebel and Simler had fought successively a hard fight for the cause of Latin and Greek Literature.

There for four years Melancthon busied himself with the most varied study ; nothing seemed to him devoid of interest, and he acquired a knowledge of Mathematics, Law and Medicine.

\* Cf. Von Baumer, *Gesch. der Padagogik*, Vol. I., p. 183.

Tübingen, however, was no quiet home for an admirer of the Classics, and Melancthon, who had actively supported the cause of his old patron Reuchlin, had provoked, young as he was, no slight unpopularity in the minds of the graduates of that town.

Nor was his crime merely that of partizanship; for he, as a Master, had availed himself of his prescriptive right to teach, and had read on Virgil and Terence, Cicero and Livy; while he had set an evil example to the students by learning, under Æcolampadius, Hebrew.

Such had been the education of the youth who came to Wittemberg in the year following that in which Luther had posted his theses against the sale of indulgences on the door of the University Church. Melancthon at Wittemberg.

As far as the history of the Academic body is concerned, Melancthon is for the future the most prominent figure; although the control of matters (apart from the authority and right of interference of the Elector and his friend and councillor, the Rector Spalatin,) was guided by the strong will of Martin Luther.

From the time, however, of the dispute with Eck at Leipsic, in 1519,—at which meeting Luther was supported by the presence of all his brother Professors,—the affairs of religion, and his enforced absences, prevented the great Reformer from taking much share in the routine duties of the University.

On the shoulders of the youthful Melancthon fell the full weight of responsibility; as well as the task of creating for Wittemberg a system of study congruous with the advance made in classical knowledge, and the bold position the University had taken up with respect to theological questions.

The task was indeed severe, for Wittemberg was singularly deficient in the necessary appliances for the carrying out of any new educational scheme; it had neither printing press or Greek books; and, beside the overt opposition of the friends of the old studies, there was at first but small enthusiasm for the arduous pursuit of the classics. "I can

<sup>1</sup> Melancthon took his M.A. at the age of 17.

remember," wrote later a pupil of Melancthon's, "after two years residence in Wittemberg,<sup>a</sup> Melancthon's explaining the Philippics of Demosthenes; we were only four listeners, with one exception our master."

Melancthon was not the man to yield, discouraged by such a lack of enthusiasm; he could not fail to know that the mere delivery of a lecture on Demosthenes by an University Professor was in itself an utterly unheard of innovation, at least amongst these Northern Universities, and to realise that so vast a change could not at once bear fruit. That ultimate success should attend the study of the classics was the desire of Melancthon's life, and to secure his end he spared himself no exertion. Twice a day, it is said, he publicly lectured, and besides that taught at his own house, which he converted into a public school for Latin and Greek; he took boys just quit of their childhood and brought them step by step through various courses of study to what he held to be the cap-stone of the edifice, the study of Theology.

The chief difficulties with which Melancthon had to contend were due to the peculiar character of Wittemberg.

It has been already pointed out that the students lived perfectly independent of any such restraints as existed in the older foundations. Living here and there in the town they were difficult to control, and were prone to riot. The solution of the problem was much complicated by the disquiet of the years between 1518 and 1560, which aided greatly to unsettle any discipline that had once existed. The disturbance aroused by the Anabaptists was quickly followed by the revolt of the peasants (1525), and on two separate occasions, during a plague in 1534, and after the disastrous field of Muhlberg (1547), the University had to fly from Wittemberg. We cannot wonder that discipline suffered amidst such adverse circumstances; but we must join with the lament of Melancthon, that amongst the offences of the students were numbered gluttony, drunkenness, adultery, theft, and extravagance of dress.<sup>b</sup>

Yet more serious obstacles lay in the absence of restraint

<sup>a</sup> The name of this student was Vitus Winshemius.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. M. Nisard, *Etudes sur la Renaissance*, p. 425; also, Von Raumer, *Gesch. Padag.*, Vol. IV.



upon the studies of the students, and the imperfect influence exercised by the body of Professors.

Of the first it must be observed that it was a consequence of the abolition in Wittemberg of all those old restraints which had prescribed for every student up to a certain point, common studies. At Cologne or Vienna each undergraduate had to go through the Arts before he could hope to study other subjects or get a degree<sup>1</sup>; and his college superiors were always able to see that he was regular in attendance on lectures. But at Wittemberg a degree was held of little or no value: any student was at perfect liberty to pursue such studies as he liked, and the compulsory course in Arts ceased; whilst the being a poet (*e.g.*, a student of the classics) was distinctly recognised by the statutes as a complete equivalent for a degree in Arts.<sup>2</sup>

This licence, coupled with a desire upon the part of the students to master as many subjects as they could, was a great annoyance to Melancthon. He could get few to apply themselves in earnest to the arduous toil of learning Greek and Latin, for nearly all preferred to run from one lecturer to another, and to divide their attention amidst many subjects.

Great as was the advantage to Wittemberg of its band of Professors, it still suffered at first some inconvenience from the want of connexion which existed between them and their pupils. The Professor felt himself to stand in quite another relation to the subordinate members of the University to that in which the college authorities of the old academies stood towards those who were members of the bourses; and so out of the lecture-room they were prone to believe that they had no duties towards their students. It was the constant effort of Melancthon to destroy this idea, and to induce the Professors each to take a certain number of pupils under their immediate charge, and in this manner to remedy the prevalent disorder and licence.

The Professors at Wittemberg are in their way a noticeable body, as evidence of the great change in educational system which was taking place everywhere.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Von Meiner, *Die Universitäten*, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Statutes of the University of Wittemberg.

Defects of the  
Professoria  
System.

The Wittem-  
berg Profes-  
sors.

Fifty years before the date of Melancthon's arrival in Wittemberg the limitation of teaching to a few paid Professors would have seemed ludicrous.

The sagacity of Frederic and his advisers seized hold early of this change, which had been rendered necessary by the discovery of paper and printing and the experience of the Renaissance, and had endowed Wittemberg with a body of ten lecturers in Literature and Philosophy,<sup>1</sup> to whom were later added four Theological Professors. The design was, from the very first, to further the reaction from the scholastic philosophy to the study of letters. The subjects for the Professional lectures are not uninteresting, as showing the tendency of the intentions of the founders of Wittemberg.

The first Lecturer treated of Dialectic and Rhetoric, the second of Physic, with special reference to the 2nd book of Pliny's Natural History; the third of Arithmetic; the fourth of Euclid; and of Ptolemy's Almagest; the sixth and fifth of the poets of Greece and Rome and also Cicero; the eighth of the Physies of Aristotle; the ninth of Hebrew; the tenth of Greek Classics, Greek Grammar and the Exposition of a Pauline Epistle.

The Pedagogue.

The labours of the seventh Professor it is important to notice were devoted to the especial duty of lecturing to the young on Terence Plantus and the grammar of Linacre.

It was this outlined scheme for the future course of studies at Wittemberg which Melancthon found on his arrival, and the sole object of his subsequent efforts was to give actual existence to purposes which had only hitherto testified by their correct conceptions to the wisdom of the first planners of the University.

Melancthon's  
"Oratio de  
corrigendis  
Adolescens  
Studia."

In his celebrated oration "concerning the amendment of the studies of the youth," Melancthon sets before his hearers the advantages to be enjoyed by the proper use of the Professorial lectures. "Hic nativum ac sincerum Aristotelem, ille Quintilianum rhetorem, hic Plinianum . . . ille argutias sed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meiner, *Gesch. der Höheren Schulen*, Vol. 1., p. 193.

<sup>1</sup> Von Raumer, *Gesch. Pädagogik*, Vol. I., p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. This oration in the collection of Melancthon's speeches and writings.

arte temperatas docet." Besides, continued the speaker, the student may here learn under able teachers, Mathematics, as well as the more childish studies of Dialectic, Rhetoric and Grammar; but if any desire the greatest benefit from education he should learn Greek as well as Latin, and in that way, says Melancthon to the Wittemberg student, "*rem ipsam adsequare, non umbram rerum.*" For mental training Aristotle's Ethics, Plato's Laws, as well as a study of History and the poets are of the greatest service; nor can Theology be understood without a knowledge of the Hebrew, and such knowledge of philology as proceeds from an extensive acquaintance with classical writings. "*Sapere audete,*" continued the oration, "*Latinos colite, Græca amplexamini sine quibus Latina tractari recte nequeunt.*"

The whole position of the Protestants, however, towards classical education was wholly removed from that of the Renaissance teachers of the 15th and 16th centuries. To them the education of the University was but a means towards the better understanding of the science of sciences, Theology. Though the writings of Erasmus, though the denunciations of Luther, had undermined the Mediæval Theology, its place was at once supplied by newer conceptions of the same study, while its interest for students grew rather than decreased. It was but for a time that classics were pursued simply for themselves; the Renaissance was but an interlude between the ages of the Latin Christianity and Protestantism; a brief interval during which the deficiency of religious belief permitted of the elevation of literary enthusiasm to the dignity of a creed. Of that remarkable time Melancthon was one of the latest survivors; he alone amidst the heat of religious strife preserved the instincts of a thorough scholar, and retained, amidst the prevalent and daily increasing narrowness of view, much of that breadth of character which had been one of the principal features of the men of the Renaissance.

Yet we should be indeed ungrateful to the memory of Luther, or of Wittemberg, if we forgot the greatness of the services they rendered to the cause of education.

By the union of the new religious creed and its interests with those of the classical studies, by the importance that was

given to scholarship as an aid to theology, the Reformers saved Europe from return to the mental darkness of the 14th and 15th centuries, and even forced Catholicism to assist in the work of progress. If we should feel inclined to lament the Puritanical aversion to the study of heathen authors, of which signs became manifest as Protestantism grew from a persecuted religious sect to a powerful political body, we should remember the far fiercer dislike of the theologians of Paris or of Cologne, and forget amidst gratitude for great benefits a small and pardonable failing.

Time will not admit of separate notice of such purely Protestant foundations as Königsberg or Marburg,<sup>a</sup> but it throws light on this topic of our consideration to remember the prominence which is given in their charters of foundation to the absolute dependence of the Protestant faith on the study of the classics. Yet no clearer evidence of the friendship of the Reformers for the revived studies can be cited than the noble sentiments expressed by Luther to the Burgomasters and Town Councillors of Germany, in his plea for the extension of University education.<sup>b</sup>

Luther and  
the Classics.

"God," wrote Luther, "had been good to Germany in giving her such a gift of tongues," and to those who held it sufficient to read the Bible in German, and questioned the need of teaching Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in the schools, he makes answer that for itself alone men ought to rejoice in the possession and knowledge of tongues as a noble and beautiful gift of God. "As we hold the Gospels dear, so let us hold the languages fast. If we do not keep the tongues we shall not keep the Gospels."

Troubles at  
Wittenberg.

To return for a brief space to the history of Wittenberg. We find it agitated until the death of Melancthon by a constant series of troubles. The enforced absence of Luther in the Wartburg, and the excited nature of the times, produced in 1521 the unfortunate excesses of Carlostadt and the Anabaptists. Two years later a sedition in Wittenberg arose and the statutes were broken, while the subsequent

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Koch, *Die Preussischen Universitäten*, Vol. I., *Statutes, &c., of Königsberg*.

<sup>b</sup> Essay of C. Parker on Education, in which extracts are given.

year was filled with the turmoil of the Peasant's War. The disquiet of the times increased the restlessness of the students, and it was almost impossible to win them to continuous application. It was with difficulty Melancthon could get any to attend his lectures, and in 1534 he was left quite without an audience.

The plague of 1538, the death of Luther (1546), the Smalkaldic War were all fatal blows to the prosperity of Wittemberg. When after the last of these events the Academy was again brought together, the general disorder and confusion was extreme. The quarrel of Illyric and Osiander, known as that of the "*αδιαφορα*," dragged into its complications the reluctant Melancthon: the fury of dispute had seized all the world, and scholars even offered to dispute with their masters; while the exaggeration of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith resulted in the sloth and remissness of life of many.

Impatience to enter on professional careers, and discontent at the probationary study of Language and Philosophy, made many students and their parents desirous to overthrow the course of Arts, and substitute a professional for an intellectual education.

Saddened by the troubles of his age, worn out with his toils for an ungrateful University, and filled with the darkest forebodings for the future, Melancthon died in 1560, and with him ended the period of its history during which Wittemberg can lay claim to a prominent position among European Universities. Never again during the remaining years of its existence at Wittemberg, or after its removal to Halle, did the Academy attain to its former pitch of reputation; its task was accomplished in the very outset of its career, and with the death of Luther and Melancthon, and the establishment of Protestantism and classical studies throughout large districts of Germany, its mission was over, and it sank into quiet insignificance amidst the ranks of the inferior Universities. Before finally quitting Wittemberg there is yet one point of significant interest to be mentioned in connexion

<sup>p</sup> The quarrel of the "*αδιαφορα*" was about the legality or non-legality of concession to Roman ritual in trifling matters.

Celibate and  
Married  
Teachers.

with it; and that relative to the marriage of teachers. Throughout the Middle Ages the clerical character of the members of the University body had forbidden the possibility of their contracting the lawful ties of marriage. Even the members of the Faculties of Law and Medicine came under the general restriction;<sup>a</sup> and it was not until 1452 that it was permitted to the married graduates of Paris to act as regents.

Marriage for members of the Faculties of Canon Law or Theology was not thought of;<sup>r</sup> and even in the 16th century the statute against all married teachers remained in force; nor was it until 1544 that the Arts Faculty of that town would permit of the entry among their regents of married Professors.

The impor-  
tance of Me-  
lancthon's  
Marriage.

On the other hand the Jeromites, who were only a secular brotherhood, married, and at Erfurt Eoban Hesse had done the same. Still celibacy was the custom among the University teachers; so that when Philip Melancthon, then filling L  ther's vacated theological chair, was married, we may well imagine that a great excitement ensued. The step was due rather to the design of Luther than the desire of Melancthon, yet the desired result was attained; the liberty of marriage became customary in Protestant Universities, while the step which destroyed one of the most distinctive features of the Medi  val system was one of the most important agents in that secularisation of education of which mention has already been made.

With the death of Melancthon we quit the history of the German Universities, since the date of his death brings us close on the year we have fixed as the limit of the Reformation period.

Conclusion.

Nor, indeed, were we to pursue their later history in the concluding years of the 16th century should we meet with events of great attractiveness or interest. We should have to trace the development, under such teachers as Sturm, of those principles of secondary education in whose exposition Melancthon had taken so active an interest; to note the growth of the new Protestant foundations of the North, and

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Cr  vier, Vol. IV., p. 175 et seq.

<sup>r</sup> Hantz, *Gesch. von Heidelberg*, Vol. I,

the conversion from the Catholic side of the University of Heidelberg.

But the keen interest felt in the history of the years of the Renaissance and Reformation has departed, the uncertainty as to the future of classical studies, or of the Protestant religion, has disappeared, and doubt and thrilling uncertainty are replaced by the monotony of a success only chequered by the alarming advances of the Jesuits.

The close of the third sitting of the Council of Trent is the signal for the curtain to fall on the drama of the Reformation, which for the better half of the sixteenth century has occupied with its various acts the stage of Europe.

As a point in University history the year 1563 is scarcely less decisive than it is in political: and marks the close of an accomplished chapter in the annals of European educational bodies.

Another age of University life, too, was now to begin; an age less characterised by brilliant genius or stirring events, but pursuing more methodically the various paths which the struggles of the Humanists and the Reformers had brought to light.

It is impossible amidst the great men of the post Reformation years, in Baronius or Casaubon, or Sturm, to recognise the genius and the fire of an Erasmus, a Luther or a Melancthon; it is as impossible amidst the questions which agitated the scholars and divines of these later years, to discover those elements of universal interest which have made the details of the lives of Erasmus or Luther the commonplaces of memoir.

Nor if the change is great in the questions and men of the day, is it less in the more permanent institutions.

The Reformation had effected in the Universities a revolution, whose full result has not even yet made itself entirely perceptible. It shattered old traditionary modes of thought, it broke up the vast and comprehensive system of the Mediæval Church, it made the several Universities independent units, no longer bound in close relation by a common tie; and most momentous work of all, the Reformation trans-

ferred the guidance and control of education from the power of the Church to that of the state.

Nor was it without its less immediate results: too much concerned with the interests of religion the intellectual leaders of the Reformation years had had little time or inclination for the furtherance of other studies than those of Classics and Theology. But in the age that followed both men and opportunity were found for the pursuit and study of scientific objects. As the Academies of the Italian cities mark the birth of the revived study of the classics, as the University of Wittemberg the growth of a fresh Theology, so does the creation of the University of Leyden mark the dawn of a new era in the History of Science. But with scientific interests and pursuits the age of the Reformation had nothing of sympathy, for all its thoughts were concerned with theological questions.

It has been the nature of this Essay to avoid the ecclesiastical side of the University history, not from indifference to its importance, but from a consciousness of the difficulty in so slight a work of doing justice to so grave a matter. Yet in an exhaustive account of this portion of their existence it would be impossible to make so grave an omission; for the work of the Reformation was most especially the outcome of the Universities. In no other period of history has the thought of the ultimate aim of education, which is expressed in the motto of the Jesuits, met with a more universal acceptance; and never have the labours of the student been prosecuted with keener satisfaction than when, as in the 16th century, all effort was consecrated "ad majorem Dei gloriam."



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